DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 093 463 PS 007 194

AUTHOR	Allen, Sally V.; And Others
TITLE	Perspectives on Child Care.
INSTITUTION	Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. Center for Law and Education.; National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	[73]
NOTE	65p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications Dept., National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1834 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 ($1.25, paper)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$3.15 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*Child Care; Child Development; *Day Care Services; *Federal Legislation; *Program Development; *Program Planning; State Programs

ABSTRACT

This booklet presents a collection of articles on child care which relate to the question of federal funds for day care services. The articles analyze the following issues: (1) disparities in the quality of care available today, (2) the cost of day care, (3) applications of experiences with Head Start to federally funded child care programs, (4) what Congress is currently doing in the area of child care program design, (5) common misunderstandings and myths which perpetrate opposition to comprehensive services, (6) essential components of good child care legislation, (7) concerns and activities of individual states in the field of child development, (8) concerns of the black community, and (9) results of a 3-year study of day care in the United States. (DP)

ED 093463

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PERSPECTIVES ON CHILD CARE

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Marian Wright Edelman
Orval Hansen
Margaret M. Heckler
Mary Dublin Keyserling
Walter F. Mondale
Evelyn K. Moore
William L. Pierce
Mary P. Rowe
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The National Association for the Education of Young Children
1834 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

This publication is reprinted from portions of:

INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION
Number Thirteen, December 1972
Published by the
Harvard Center for Law and Education
61 Kirkland Street • Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Editor: Eric E. Van Loon
Associate Editor: Leah Levy

The Center for Law and Education is an interdisciplinary institute established by Harvard University and the United States Office of Economic Opportunity to promote reform in education through research and action on the legal implications of educational policies, particularly those affecting equality of educational opportunity.

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and should not be construed as representing the opinions or policy of any agency of the United States Government.

Photographs on pages 15, 33, and 52 were furnished by the National Association for the Education of Young Children and did not appear in the original publication.

Copies of this publication may be ordered from the Publications Dept., National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1834 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Library of Congress Card Catalog Number 73-84114
Printed in the United States of America

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Introduction

Go into any community for any length of time and you will hear about the pressing need for quality child care. You will also see and hear about the makeshift, damaging care that many mothers who have to work are forced to accept for their children because there is no alternative. Look further and you will see many poor children in desperate need of the health and nutritional services – as well as the stimulation – which quality child care services could offer.

This issue of *Inequality in Education* seeks to lend some perspective to the growing national debate on whether a major investment of federal funds in new child care legislation is warranted.

That debate must start from reality. While many people think it preferable for very young children to be at home with their mothers, this ignores the present needs of millions of children of working mothers, as well as the millions of poor children whose families cannot afford to provide them the health, nutritional, and other supports that good child care services should provide.

Continued pressure for child care legislation can be expected in the 93rd Congress. The Republican and Democratic platforms both contained child care planks. The need for adequate facilities continues to grow. And the ceiling on Title IV-A Social Services (see chart on page 62) will create new pressures for alternative sources of public funds for child care.

Any debate on child care or child development programs will have to include these issues:

- *Scope of legislation:* Whether to establish a new system to deliver comprehensive child development services, or merely consolidate existing programs with planning and training authority.
- *Delivery mechanism:* What relative role will state and local governments play? Where will major administrative responsibility lie?
- *Who will operate programs:* What role for the public schools? Will proprietors and franchisers be eligible for public funds? What assurances will there be for the continuation and expansion of child care programs (including Head Start) operated by non-profit community-based organizations?
- *Role of parents:* Will they have actual decision-making authority at both operating and administering levels, or be "advisory" only?
- *Standards:* Will program standards be at least as strong as the 1968 Interagency Requirements? What enforcement mechanism will assure compliance?
- *Priorities for services:* Economically disadvantaged? Children of working mothers and single parents? Will employment or training of the parent be a condition of services for the child?
- *Fee Schedule:* To what income level will families be eligible for free services – poverty level, Bureau of Labor Statistics lower living standard budget, or a standard set by the HEW Secretary? To what income level will services be subsidized?
- *Level of authorization and appropriations:* A significant commitment of new public funds, or only token authorization and appropriations?

This issue of *Inequality in Education* seeks to explore these questions. Mary Keyserling, in her report on recent observations of day care facilities, opens the doors of some day care homes and centers, and reveals the great disparities in the quality of care available today. Mary Rowe's analysis of the cost of day care explains why Americans have difficulty accepting the concept of paid-for care services. Edward Zigler suggests how we might apply our experiences with the Head Start program to the growing problems of federally-funded child care programs. Senator Walter Mondale offers a picture of what the Congress is doing to design programs that will adequately serve the mounting needs for day care assistance. Congresswoman Margaret Heckler examines some of the myths which perpetuate opposition to comprehensive child care, while

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Photo by Lyn Gardiner

documenting the broad range of support for future federal programs. In this area, several essential components of good comprehensive child care legislation are specified by Congressman Orval Hansen.

In her article on the states' role, Sally Allen relates the increasing concern and recent activities of individual states in the child development field. Evelyn Moore presents the concerns of black communities for child development cognizant of the special needs of minority children. The rather discouraging results of a three-year study of day care in the United States is summarized by William Pierce, who also illuminates the need for reevaluation of our priorities if we are to provide equitable care for our children.

Marian Wright Edelman

The Magnitude of Day Care Need

by Mary Dublin Keyserling

The challenge of day care needs is vital to us all. Our children are our future, and deserve the very best we can provide for their growth and development. Yet millions of our children today are denied the chance to realize their potentials because they lack the developmental opportunities which should be their birthright.

Two groups of children need developmental day care urgently. The first is children of employed mothers who cannot arrange for satisfactory care for them at home. The second is those whose families are economically deprived, whose mothers are not now working, and who lack the kind of preschool developmental opportunities on a part-day basis which would give them an equal start with more privileged children.

One of the most dramatic social changes in recent decades has been the rapid increase in employment of women. Thirty-three and a half million women are in the labor force today. While the number of all working women has increased two and a half fold since 1940, the number of all working mothers has increased more than eight-fold, now exceeding twelve million. Half of all mothers with children aged 6 to 17 are job holders. About one third of all mothers with children under the age of six, totalling over four and a half million women, are workers, most for compelling economic reasons. They are faced with the difficult problem, while they are away from home, of obtaining adequate care for their children. There are now close to six million children under the age of 6 whose mothers are in the labor force.

A survey made several years ago by the Women's Bureau (U.S. Department of Labor) and the Children's Bureau (HEW) clearly indicated that a large proportion of these children are inadequately cared for when their mothers are away at work. Of the children under 6 covered by the survey, nearly half were cared for in their own homes. Home care may often be very good; in many cases, however, it is very poor.

Mary Keyserling, former director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, directed a study on day care for the National Jewish Council of Women, and is the author of Windows on Day Care. *She is currently Acting Director of the National Committee for Children and Youth.*

Windows on Day Care

Last year I directed a study of day care needs and services in 77 cities for the National Council of Jewish Women.* In the course of this project, hundreds of able women volunteers visited a large number of non-profit and proprietary day care centers and family day care homes. They interviewed many mothers and talked with the many people in their communities most knowledgeable about day care. Interviews with working mothers underscored how difficult it was for many of them to arrange adequate home care for their children when they were on the job. Fewer than 5% of mothers have an adult female relative in the home who can assume care responsibility.

In a large percentage of the homes of working mothers, fathers work at night and expect to sleep during the day while trying to look after their children. In how many homes do fathers say to their children, "Wake me up when you're hungry?" Is this the developmental care a small child needs? In many families, Council survey participants found that siblings were kept home from school to take responsibility for children only a little younger than themselves. Few mothers who depend on maids or baby-sitters can afford to pay enough to obtain well trained household helpers; few can afford "in-home" help at all. Therefore it is not surprising that so many mothers said they were unhappy with child care arrangements in their own homes.

According to the Women's Bureau-Children's Bureau survey, nearly a third of the preschool children of working mothers were cared for in

homes other than their own. Day care homes of relatives and neighbors, providing care for as many as two million children, are the largest single purveyor of day care for children outside their own homes. The great majority of these day care homes only provide custodial care. Only about five percent are licensed and hence subject to inspection. At their best, they are warm and loving, at their worst, they do serious harm.

Participants in the "Windows on Day Care" project visited a sizable number of day care homes. They reported that only six percent of those observed provided what was regarded as "superior" care. Twenty-nine percent were considered "good." Half were custodial in nature, providing little or no educational or other services beyond the meeting of physical needs. An additional fourteen percent were regarded as outright "poor," all too many of these were shocking in the extreme. For example, an observer visited a day care home licensed for no more than six children. In this home there were 47 children cared for by one day care mother. Eight infants were tied to cribs, toddlers were tied to chairs; and three, four, and five year olds coped as best they could.

Another observer reported:

> This interviewer can still recall vividly one particular home where she counted eleven children — five infants and six other small children from about one to four years old running and screaming in the four room house. The strong urine smell, the stale odor of uneaten food everywhere, and the bugs crawling around made one nauseous. There was one very obese, sullen, unpleasant woman in charge.

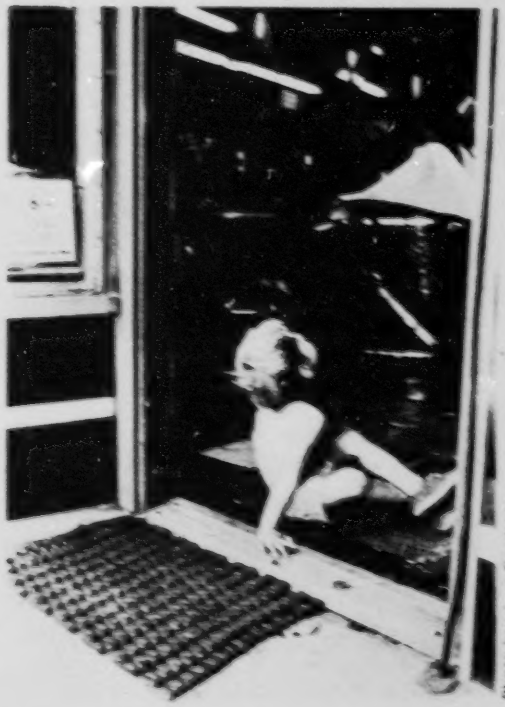

Photo by Jon Gardner

Very little funding is available today for the badly needed training of day care mothers. Here is a report of an interview with still another day care mother who was not an isolated example: "We don't have toys," she said. She had had paper for coloring but "it got tore up." She said she "counted on the Lord to help her teach the right way with the help of a switch." Three-year-olds!

According to the Women's Bureau-Children's Bureau study of the arrangements working mothers make for their children's care, fifteen percent of all children under six went with their mothers to their places of work. Experience in the early years has profound and irreversible effects. A large part of intelligence and behavior patterns is developed then. Will a child playing on the floor of a back room of a dry cleaning establishment have much opportunity to realize his or her potential?

There are two additional groups of children of working mothers to be accounted for. First and saddest of all are the latchkey kids, left on their own with no one to care for them. We don't know how many they are, but considerable numbers were reported in the cities included in the "Windows on Day Care" survey.

Here is a story, more telling than official statistics, which was included in the report of a Council survey participant:

> Peter, age three, gets his own lunch every day. He has to. No one else is home . . . He eats what he can reach and what his still uncoordinated hands can concoct if he can get the refrigerator or cabinet doors open. Some day it might be poison. Peter is anything but alone in his plight. The City Welfare Department estimates that 700 children less than six years of age are left alone each day, in our city alone, without any formal supervision when their mothers have to work.

There should not have to be any little children in America left alone to fend for themselves.

Finally, there are the children cared for in

centers, both non-profit and proprietary. The Women's Bureau-Children's Bureau study found that only six percent of the preschool children of working mothers were cared for in these centers. The proportion of children in group care has risen since that study was made in 1965, but not very markedly.

Monitors for "Windows on Day Care" found that the great majority of the children cared for in the centers observed had working mothers. Proprietary centers primarily served middle and higher income families. The non-profit centers largely enrolled children from very low income families, although some of them did accept a small proportion from middle income families which were charged fees scaled to income.

Children from one-parent homes headed by working mothers were a small minority in most proprietary centers. The proprietary centers visited were generally too expensive for fatherless families. The non-profit centers gave children from these families top priority. In two thirds of the non-profit centers visited by project participants, children from one-parent homes were a sizable majority. About three fourths of the day care centers observed were largely segregated institutions, serving only white or predominantly white families, or only black or predominantly black families.

Facts About Proprietary Centers

The average fee charged was about $18.50 a week per child. Survey participants felt that this was all that the great majority of families served could afford, yet they recognized that fees at this average level do not and cannot possibly buy developmental care including essential educational, nutritional, health and social services.

Because the average fee charged was less than half what quality care actually costs, parents got what they paid for. In more than half the proprietary centers the size of classes exceeded generally accepted standards, and the adult-child ratios were far too low.

Salaries paid center directors and other professional staff were, on the whole, very much lower than those paid elementary school personnel. The great majority received less than $4,000 a year, with many paid subminimum wage rates. Because salaries were so low, the majority of the staff had little or no training in early childhood education or development.

On the basis of the wide range of information collected, the proprietary centers visited were rated as providing "superior," "good," "fair," or "poor" care. Only one percent of the proprietary centers visited were considered "superior;" 14 percent were regarded as "good." An additional 36 percent were reported to be largely custodial, providing "fair" care in the sense of meeting basic physical needs, but with little, if any, developmental services. About half were considered to be rendering poor care; in some cases this was found to be actually injurious.

How poor can "poor" care be? A survey participant reported that at the time of her visit to a center there were two children, aged 10 and 12, in sole charge. Said the visitor:

> This center should be closed. Absolutely filthy. Toilets not flushed, and smelly. Broken equipment and doors. Broken windows on lower level near back stairs and doors. Broken chairs and tables. No indoor play equipment. One paper towel used to wipe the faces and hands of all children. Kitchen very, very dirty.

Another excerpt:

> Very poor basement dark room. All ages together. Rigid control and discipline. Run-down equipment. Babies are kept next door in double-decker cardboard cribs in a small room with a gas heater . . . a sad case of inhumane dehumanizing of kids by an owner who makes plenty of money.

Non-Profit Day Care Centers

On the whole, the non-profit centers presented a more encouraging picture. About 15 percent of the non-profit centers visited were Head Start projects; about the same percentage were other programs wholly financed by public funds. About one quarter of all non-profit centers visited were jointly financed by public and private funds, and another one quarter were centers run by philanthropic agencies. A few were hospital-based. The remainder were largely church-operated, generally run on a fee-for-service basis. On the whole, of all centers seen, the best of the Head Start centers elicited the most praise on the part of Council Survey participants.

While Head Start provided service without cost to parents, a large majority of the other non-profit programs observed charged a flat fee, averaging about $14.00 a week. A few scaled their fees from

nominal amounts upward, according to the income of parents.

Qualifications of directors of the non-profit centers visited were much higher than those who headed centers under proprietary auspices, although there was relatively little difference in the degree of training of other staff members. Salaries paid were also far better in non-profit than proprietary centers both for professional personnel and aides. Costs of services generally run considerably higher in the former than the latter. To illustrate: in Washington, D.C. some 21 publicly financed centers are now run by the National Capital Area Day Care Association and care for about 1200 children on a full-day basis. Costs per child exceed $40 a week whereas average fees in proprietary centers in the District are less than half that amount. Although the Association's centers provide care of excellent quality, a recent survey made by a private research organization at the request of the city welfare authorities found the services of a large majority of those privately run to be far below acceptable minimum standards.

In a much higher proportion of the non-profit than proprietary centers observed, adult-child ratios met generally accepted standards, and non-profit centers were considerably more likely to provide the full range of services necessary for developmental care.

For these and other reasons, the services of the non-profit centers observed were, on the whole, rated considerably higher than those of the proprietary centers visited.

Of all non-profit centers seen, nearly ten percent were regarded by survey participants as "superior." Somewhat more than one quarter were considered "good," and about half were rated "fair," meaning that while they provided for basic physical needs they were essentially custodial. Somewhat more than ten percent were considered "poor."

The centers rated "superior" were heart-warming. They provided care as good as any to be found. Most of the "poor" centers seen should not be permitted to continue operating.

Future Needs

Survey findings underscored the urgency of the need both to expand and greatly improve the quality of day care services for the children of working mothers. Many people have the impression that in the last few years the gap between need for care and its supply has been closing. Although supply has been rising, demand has been rising even faster.

In 1965, licensed day care homes and centers had the capacity to care for 250,000 children. By 1970, this enrollment capacity had risen to about 700,000 children. This gain, however, is not as encouraging as it looks. First, some of the increase in licensed capacity was more apparent than real. It simply reflected our growing efforts to license already existing homes and centers.

Secondly, during the five years in which licensed enrollment capacity grew by 450,000, the number of children under the age of six of working mothers rose by nearly twice that number. We will have to run much faster just to stay in the same place.

Thirdly, most of the actual increase in enrollment was subsidized by public funding which came from Head Start, Title IV, WIN, and Model City funds, among others. These programs made a vital contribution, but they have been almost entirely restricted to the children of families in poverty. These are, of course, the children who should have the highest priority – but they represent a relatively small proportion of all children in need of care.

The number of working mothers who are not eligible for subsidized day care for their children but whose incomes are not sufficient to enable them to pay for good care is very large. About three quarters of all children whose mothers are in the labor force are in families with annual incomes between $5,000 and $15,000. Not many families in this income range can afford to pay for good full-day care which may cost from $2,000 to $3,000 or even more per child per year. The evidence indicates that, despite the recent increase in enrollment capacity, the day care crisis is intensifying.

Need is not only a matter of how many places there are, but also how adequate the places are, how accessible they are, and how much they cost. Good infant care is extremely costly, much needed, and almost nonexistent. Care at night and on weekends, when many mothers have to work, is almost impossible to come by.

Children of Poverty

The preschoolers of employed mothers are by no means the only little children who lack the developmental experiences good day care affords.

A second group, no less in need, are those in economically and educationally disadvantaged poor or near-poor families in which the mothers are not employed. It is estimated that there are about 5 million of these children under the age of six, a large proportion of whom would benefit greatly from part-day programs providing educational, health, and other developmental opportunities. Head Start and similar programs, both publicly and philanthropically supported, reach only a very small proportion.

In addition to children of working mothers, and children in economically disadvantaged homes in which the mother does not work, there are many others whose need for day care presents a compelling challenge. There are many handicapped children who can fare better outside of their own homes, and children of mothers who are studying or in work training or whose volunteer services in the community make a vital contribution, and who would welcome good care for their children for part of the day. *All children whose parents desire it for them need good day care at an affordable price.*

The magnitude of unmet and inadequately met need is huge. Federal funds in far larger amounts must be appropriated. Where are we with respect to new federal legislation?

Federal Legislation

Last year Senator Mondale introduced a bill in the Senate calling for $2 billion for the next fiscal year for developmental child care programs – to plan, develop and operate "comprehensive physical and mental health, social and cognitive development services necessary for children participating in the programs."

A bill much like the Mondale bill, but differing in some respects, was introduced in the House by Congressman Brademas. Later the Mondale-Brademas measure was incorporated as a separate Title in a bill to continue the nation's anti-poverty programs. After long debate, the overall bill was passed by both houses of Congress and went to a conference committee to reconcile the differences in the Senate and House positions. After many weeks of discussion a compromise version was agreed to. This was approved in December 1971 by a Senate vote of 63 to 17 and by a substantial House margin of 210 to 186.

The bill authorized $2 billion for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1972 for comprehensive child development services. Of this, $500 million was for the continuation of Head Start programs.

These programs, without question, would have widened the horizons of thousands of disadvantaged children.

Special set-asides were provided, with 100 percent federal funding, for programs for migrant, Indian and handicapped children. Other direct service programs were to receive 80 percent federal funding. The 20 percent non-federal share was to be provided through public or private funds in the form of cash, services and other contributions in-kind.

In addition to supporting comprehensive services, as much as 15 percent of the funds were to be available for loans and grants for construction of facilities. This would have been a much-welcomed addition, for there has been little help for construction up to now and the shortage of facilities has been a serious bottleneck. In addition, money was to be available for renting and remodelling facilities, for training personnel, for research to improve early childhood education techniques, for model programs, and of course, for administration at the federal, state, and local levels.

The bill gave the states an important role. Five percent of the funds were allotted to them to identify goals, to assist the localities, to encourage the cooperation and participation of state agencies and the full use of state resources and facilities, for the dissemination of research, for the exchange of personnel, for assessing state and local licensing codes, and for developing information for servicing local programs.

Major action was called for at the local level. Every locality with a population of more than 5,000, or cooperating groups of localities wishing to participate were to set up two bodies. The first was the prime sponsoring local administrative agency to be responsible for contracting projects with a wide range of public and private non-profit agencies and organizations. Each program in the prime sponsorship area was to include plans for surveys of needs, and for the development of comprehensive services to children from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. Active parent participation was called for. Above all, programs and services were to be provided only for children whose parents requested them.

The second local body was to be the Child Development Council responsible for planning, supervising, coordinating, monitoring and evaluating the programs. It was to approve the goals, policies, actions and procedures of the prime sponsor. At least half the members of the Council were to be parents of children served in the programs. The other members were to be appointed by the mayor or appropriate governing body to represent the various public and voluntary groups concerned.

Comprehensive services were to be available without charge to families of four with incomes under $4,320. Families with incomes above this level up to $6,600 were to pay $280 a year and families with incomes between $6,600 and $6,950 were to pay a small additional amount. The Secretary of HEW would have set fees according to income for children of families with incomes exceeding $6,950. These income eligibility figures would have varied with the size of the family and with some reference to the cost of living in the locality.

The $2 billion proposed outlay was small relative to need and to our capacity to invest in the future of our children. It represented less than one fifth of one percent of the value of our current total national output. Closing one major tax loophole could give us far more than $2 billion. A very small cutback in military outlays would more than cover costs. What are our children worth? Last year our nation spent more than 5 times this amount on tobacco alone, and more than 8 times as much for alcoholic beverages.

The bill, which would have enabled us to make an excellent step forward, was warmly supported by hundreds of public interest groups, organizations of educators, of women, and of labor, by church groups, social welfare agencies and many others.

Nevertheless, it was vetoed by the President who said, "neither the immediate need nor the desirability of a national child development program of this character has been demonstrated." He felt the proposed outlays were excessive. He considered the bill "the most radical piece of legislation to emerge from the Ninety-second Congress" and to have "family weakening implications."

Many thousands of letters had reached the White House, it is reported, in opposition to the bill. They were largely inspired, we are told, by a single organization which has never been concerned with child welfare and which has long opposed even the most moderate social welfare advances as dangerous and unaffordable. Very few supporting groups communicated with the White

House – a very sad failure of the democratic process.

The Second Time Around

The struggle for urgently needed progress had to begin all over again. This spring, Senator Mondale again introduced a Child Development measure, and a compromise was reached with a similar bill sponsored by Senator Javits and overwhelming bipartisan support rallied. A vote of 73 for, to 12 against, was registered.

The S.3617 bill, as passed, differed in some major respects from the legislation approved in 1971. The funds authorized were sharply cut. For fiscal year 1973 only $150 million were approved as allocations for training and planning, with $1.2 billion for fiscal 1974 for program operations, and $1.6 billion for fiscal 1975.

The federal share of cost of programs was set at 90 percent. The 10 percent local share could be in cash or in-kind. The bill gave priority to continue funding of Head Start projects, authorizing $500 million of program funds for these and other programs serving low income children. It should be noted that profit-making programs were not excluded from eligibility for public funds.

A locality would need at least 25,000 people to be eligible for prime sponsorship. However an amendment from the floor (introduced by Senator Dominick) permitted the Secretary of HEW to make the choice when more than one sponsor applied to serve an area. This would have placed state and local governments in competition for prime sponsorship. The administration would thus have had the means, if it so chose to opt for state control. Under the bill, five states were enabled to set up demonstration state-controlled plans, with no local prime sponsors allowed.

The bill as approved by the Senate required 50 percent parent membership on the National Child and Family Services Council and Local Program Councils, which were to approve the plans and policies of the prime sponsors, and 50 percent parent membership on Project Policy Committees of each operating program.

After a long delay in action in the House, Congressman Ogden Reid–who had left the Republican Party to join the Democratic ranks, citing the President's December 1971 veto of the Child Development Bill as his reason for doing so–introduced a companion bill, which did not emerge from committee. Although action failed to come in 1972, it must be realized before long. We cannot, as a country, continue to ignore one of our most urgent items of unfinished business on the social action agenda. What people need, want and support does have a way of transpiring in this great democracy of ours.

State Action Needed

The states and localities cannot afford to wait for federal legislation, however, before they rise to the many challenges. They have vital jobs to do. They need to review and update state and local day care standards which are antiquated in too many areas.

States and localities must increase their appropriations to fulfill their responsibility to enforce standards. Many states set standards but impose little or no penalty for violation. One large state has never revoked a license. How many states have been able to bring more than a small fraction of all the day care homes within their licensing orbit?

Are we reshaping enforcement so that it is more than merely a policing mechanism? It should become a consultative service that can help day

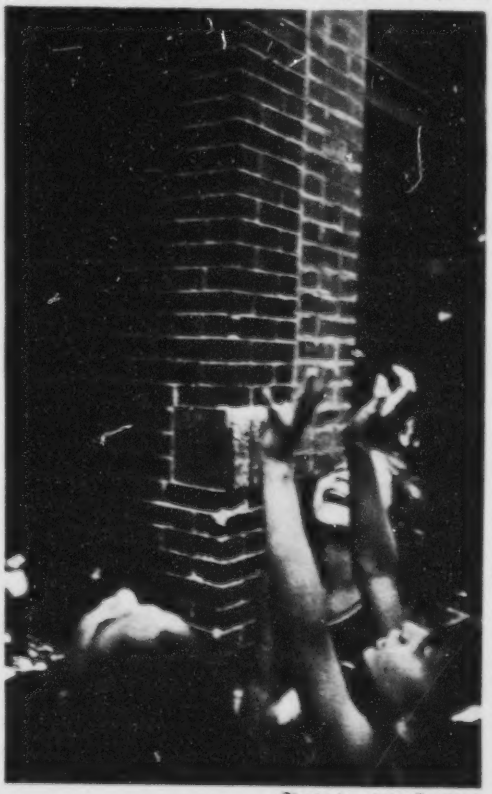

Photo by: Lyn Gardiner

Photo by Ted Polumbaum

care mothers and private and public centers to upgrade the quality of their facilities.

Can we help bring groups of day care mothers into some formal or informal relationship with first rate day care centers? They could learn from each other, exchange personnel, arrange for an interchange of children, borrow equipment, have the use of a common library and share services they couldn't otherwise afford.

Are we doing all we can locally to mobilize our universities, our community colleges, and our other educational institutions to provide training courses and workshops to improve the skills of day care personnel?

Educators could play a much larger role if they were called on more fully. We are still in the early stages of development of curriculum and educational techniques. The day care explosion that lies ahead will not only require many newly trained professionals; it will call for even larger numbers of para-professionals and the building of career ladders for them.

Should not our secondary schools do more toward developing courses on family life and child development for boys as well as girls? Voluntary field work in day care centers and after school programs could be an important part of these programs—good for teenagers, good for children, and good for the families of the future.

The immense unmet need for before-and-after-school care is numerically an even larger problem. Here we have hardly moved as a nation, although a few communities are constructively moving ahead. Are we using our schools as we should to provide this service? They are in the neighborhoods where the children are. The plant and equipment are available and the major overhead costs are already met. It is not so much money as concern, gumption and vigorous leadership that is needed to put these programs on the road.

Another challenge to our communities is the mounting of education programs to help parents understand what the components of developmental child care actually are. Many parents are complacent about very poor care their children now receive because they do not always know the difference between good and bad care and how to choose between the alternatives. An educational and involvement program to reach them is imperative. Federal legislation alone, no matter how constructive, cannot begin to provide all the answers.

We must go forward together if we are to serve our children well. Even had S.3617 become law, it would not have automatically provided coordination of new programs with those currently underway and those additional ones which would have proliferated independently. Coordination of day care efforts at every level—especially on the local level—has become more important than ever before.

There is much to do. But it is all "doable!" And do it we must. What splendid opportunities we have—if only we rise to them—to help every child realize his or her potentials and fulfill the aspirations all parents have for their children.

Windows on Day Care, by Mary Dublin Keyserling, a report based on findings of members of the National Council of Jewish Women, 1972, is available from the National Council office, 1 West 47th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Photo courtesy Washington, D.C. Parent & Child Center

Photo by Lyn Gardiner

How Much Is Good Child Care Worth?

by Mary P. Rowe

After several years of published research on day care costing and funding,[1] why are we still plagued with the questions of what quality child care costs and what it is worth? I suggest the question still arises for two reasons. The first is that most child carers have been women, and women's traditional work is just beginning to become part of the modern, monetized economy. The second reason is that the *quality* of child care lies, at least in part, in the eye of the beholder.

The Increasing Monetization of Child Care, or Consider West African Bananas

Once, in West Africa, bananas were considered free; cooking and eating bananas, large and small, cultivated and wild bananas – all were considered free. Of course, they were *not*, strictly speaking, free. Somebody picked them, cultivated them, bartered for them. But still they were *considered* free. Although many people devoted a considerable amount of time and energy to produce them, they were not thought to be worth money.

Then the agricultural economy of West Africa became increasingly monetized. Farming became part of the modern economy and suddenly in the capitol cities (to everyone's surprise) bananas became *expensive*. The picker was paid at the market by a middle-person who was paid by a trucker. The trucker was in turn paid by a city middle-person who wholesaled the bananas at a considerable price.

At first new prices varied from place to place and with different kinds of bananas. Some pickers and truckers did not charge much for their time: it had always been pleasant to pick bananas; they were graceful, with a wonderful flower at the end. And besides, people often cultivated and picked bananas together, which was friendly and fun. Why charge for the few minutes spent in the evening adding the bananas to a shipping list, or for the time of a twelve year old son who helped pick, or for the time of a grandmother who loved to cultivate the graceful trees? However, some pickers *did* charge a little extra for having planted the trees. Inflation hit different villages at different seasons. Some city middle-persons ordered banana shipments, and there was much talk of whether to charge for "bananas shipped" or for "bananas delivered."

As things went on, picking became specialized. Modern administration began to be applied to banana farming. Fewer people picked bananas for fun or barter. Finally, all the operations involved in selling a banana in the city of Lagos were paid for. Banana plantations developed bureaucracies. Start-up costs were separated from recurrent costs in bookkeeping. Cost accounting separated the costs of bananas ordered, and bananas delivered and sold. What once was a "dual economy" – money in the city and barter in the countryside – has slowly become a single, monetized economy.

So, Too, With Child Care

A similar development has arisen in the care of children in the United States. At one time, children were brought up, almost incidentally, by men and women engaged in survival activities – farming, crafts, shop-keeping. Then men began to leave the home-workplace for paid employment elsewhere. Grandparents were left behind as society's mobility increased; aunts and cousins sought paid employment. Older children began to establish their own social groups. And now finally, mothers are leaving the home-workplace for paid employment too. Suddenly we learn that what we *considered* free is not actually free at all.

Today, more than a third of the mothers of our 0-6 year olds work in paid jobs. The demand for child care has risen at the same time that the supply of traditional child care has declined. Consequently, we turn to non-relatives for child care, converting what we once took for granted into a monetized service. Having been brought up

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by mothers and aunts who apparently worked "free," or who swapped children back and forth, we find it difficult to accustom ourselves to child care costs, and to accept the true cost of all the resources used in fully-costed, formal child care programs.

In order to understand and compare child care costs (as with the cost of bananas) we must:

- separate recurrent costs from start-up costs, and understand the planning of program finances;
- consider standard hours per day, days per year, for child care and staff time;
- reckon in *all* of the in-kind donations and volunteers;
- separate the costs per child for children in average daily attendance from the costs per child of enrolled children (the costs of services actually delivered versus the costs of services offered); and
- consider regional price differences and inflation.

Failure to note these differences and make these separations can produce wild disagreement and misunderstanding. People try, for instance, to compare programs in Mississippi with those in New York without considering that New York prices are double those in Mississippi. The program which costs $12 a week per child in Nevada, because 80% of the resources are volunteered or donated, would otherwise cost $40 a week per child. The costs of public schools, which function five hours a day, should not be equated with full-day, preschool programs which average ten hours per day. All these factors must be considered and understood.

In sum, our difficulty in accepting the true facts about the economics of child care derive in part from unfamiliarity with a *monetized* child care system.

What Is A Quality Program?

Another reason it is difficult to cost quality child care is that the quality of child care is relative. Child care is not, after all, just like bananas. The first problem in asking "What is a quality program?" is assessing what measurements are to be used. About 5-10% of our 0-6 year olds are regularly left alone, or are unsupervised while "graveyard-shift" parents sleep during the day, or are cared for by other children under 10. Still more 7-14 year olds are left to fend for themselves, steering amidst drugs, alcohol and street violence. Probably about 10% of our children are at some time physically or psychically abused

Photo by: Marianne Gontarz

enough to need professional attention. Rat bites and malnutrition are common – even V.D. has been found among city preschoolers. Compared to this sort of life, what is good child care? Plainly, any program that is not itself abusive.

But many of us would like to do better than just non-abuse. Above the level of abuse, what is good care? What does it cost? Is there any way to reduce costs?

There have been hundreds of recent studies on the effects of early childhood programs which attempt to answer these questions. Unfortunately, there are not as yet stable, measurable, longitudinal benefits from early childhood programs which do not disappear after two or three years of schooling.[2] This does not mean that early childhood programs do no good. Giving children a year or more in good child care is worthwhile simply if it makes them healthier and happier for that limited period. Even if a child care program has no demonstrable long-term effects, if it helps improve a child's social, emotional, and medical environment for the years 0-14, the validity of the program is evident: we have improved 20% of the child's life.

Americans talk as if they know what quality child care is. But there are many definitions of "quality" and the cost implications vary widely. For instance:

a) "Good child care is comprehensive." Care analysis of most programs defined as "comprehensive" shows that widened scope of programs has mostly to do with the addition of programs for the direct benefit of *adults* – job counseling, family planning, day care staff training, family health or transportation. Helping adults should of course benefit children, but it is questionable that these components fall under "child care" *per se*. In any case, "comprehensiveness" generally adds only 10-20% to the cost of programs. Child health and special child-nutrition components generally add much less to program costs – about 3-8%.

b) "Good child care has an educational component." One or two hours of standard, packaged "educational programs" can be added to a full-day preschool service for only $2-3 per week per child. So far as we know, there is little evidence of good (or harm) from most of these educational "packages" in child care programs; in any case, their cost significance is minimal.

c) "Good child care has an adequate staff-child ratio." In my own studies and analyses I am continually struck by the fact that programs commonly described as "good" have relatively tight staff-child ratios.[3] In upper middle class, predominantly white child care programs, one regularly sees "good" preschool programs with staff-child ratios at 1:9, 1:10, 1:11. By comparison, the median staff-child ratio in all full-day programs in the United States is somewhere between 1:10 and 1:19. In inner-city poverty programs, moreover, even where the programs have already been funded for ratios of 1:5, 1:7, 1:8, directors regularly work nights and Sundays searching for resources to tighten the ratio to 1:3 or 1:4. (Wider staff-child ratios may be adequate in middle income locations in part because of the greater administrative support available to suburban programs, because middle class children already go to pediatricians and museums regularly, and because many poverty children spend very long hours in day care centers.) In any case, calling a program "good" can be interpreted as meaning that the staff-child ratio is "adequate". Staff-child ratios are also very significant for costs, since 70-80% of child care costs are for personnel.

The new Federal Day Care Requirements (which are likely to be incorporated into any forthcoming federal day care legislation) envisage the following staff-child ratios and recurrent costs per child year.[4]

Age Group	Paid Teacher Ratio	Recurrent Cost per Child Year
Infants	1:3	about $2800
Toddlers	1:4	about 2500
Preschoolers	if 1:7	about 1800
	if 1:10	about 1500
Afterschoolers	if 1:12	about 1000
	if 1:20	about 800

There are no "standard" start-up (non-recurrent, non-amortizable) costs; the range is $100 to $5000 per child depending on the circumstances of individual programs, locations and specialized needs.

If properly supported and supervised, organized family day care costs about the same as center care. Care in *systems* of centers may cost a little less (about 5%), especially in mixed, home-care/center-care systems where infants, sick children,

and children with special needs are more easily provided for. Large centers however are probably not a good way to lower costs. Many day care experts consider care in large centers less "warm" and attractive, and often less convenient to parents than care in smaller programs. (It is interesting to note that the modal [most frequent] size of centers in the U.S. is in the range of 20-45, and that Denmark seems to have switched from large to small centers.) Thus the oft touted "economies of scale" of large centers seem to me likely to result in reduction in quality of service[4], and the apparent lower costs are not generally worthwhile.

Towards Low-Cost, Quality Care

The greatest problem of lowering child care costs is that adequate staff-child ratios are essential to quality care, and the most expensive aspect of quality care is staffing. Lowering costs therefore lies in either lowering salaries or increasing volunteers and donations. In a society where day care workers receive only 60-70% of public school salaries and where the Westat Survey of 1970 reported directors' and staff salaries to average about $4200 it is hard to envisage cost reduction through salary reduction. Particularly grotesque are welfare reform proposals which plan to employ welfare mothers as day care providers at sub-poverty wages.

However, volunteers and donations can help fill the gap. Locating child care centers near high schools, universities, old-age homes, foster grandparents, and VA hospitals can be a potent method of recruiting interested volunteers. In the absence of other resources, such methods are exemplary. (It must be noted, however, that although volunteers hold together a great many quality programs, they cannot be reckoned for meeting Federal Day Care Requirements for staff ratios.)

In summary, it is difficult to know for sure what "good" child care is worth because the goodness of care varies with circumstances. If good child care is more likely to occur in the presence of tight staff-child ratios (which the Office of Child Development and many others believe), then good care requires extensive resources. It seems hard for Americans to accept this fact, probably because traditional women's work has never been directly paid for in money. Unrealistic attempts to expand child care services without providing adequate resources continue. These attempts lead to skimping on staff or paying poverty wages, or using volunteers and donations extensively. Although fewer staff or smaller salaries are potential alternatives, I believe that these methods rob our children as well as exploit staff.

When we assess the alternatives, it becomes apparent that Americans can provide enough quality child care for children and families (at sliding fees that parents can pay) only through greatly expanded federal commitment and support. Are our grandchildren to be brought up by children we refused to take care of? And are we one day to be governed by a generation of children for whom we would not provide adequately? We must choose our priorities, commit ourselves to accepting the realities of day care costs, and provide the resources for the quality care our society and our children need.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for instance, *Child Care in Massachusetts: The Public Responsibility*, Massachusetts Early Education Project, Nichols House, Appian Way, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, Chapter 8. Reprints of that chapter may be obtained from the Day Care and Child Development Council, Washington, D.C.

A Study in Child Care, 1970-71, Vol. III ("Issues of Cost and Quality"), Abt Associates, 55 Wheeler St., Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

Both studies mention many other works on day care costs, costing and funding, and have many different budgets for various kinds of child care operations.

[2] I will not raise in this context the effects of child care on parents, staff, community, although obviously a "good" child care program provides important benefits for all these groups. It should however be noted that most child care in the U.S. can be considered to have been instituted, in the first instance, for the benefit of adults.

[3] A more detailed analysis of this subject may be found in *Child Care in Massachusetts*, note 1.

[4] These Washington, D.C. cost figures derive from estimates for HEW made by Don Ogilvie of Inner City Fund, Washington, D.C. Ratios are for *paid* teaching staff only. Costs assume facilities fully enrolled, which is an unusual occurrence, and assume no overtime pay and only a nine-hour day. (The average, full-day U.S. center is probably more like 10 hours a day.)

[5] There is a detailed discussion of these points in *Child Care in Massachusetts*, note 1.

Child Care in the 70's

by Edward F. Zigler

The 1970 White House Conference on Children painted a rather bleak picture of our nation's treatment of children. In all candor, I must say that that picture is in many ways the truth. We do not treat the children of this nation as well as we should. In fact, one of the forums entertained a conclusion which is unfortunately true: in our nation, too often, children come last.

This somewhat pessimistic picture also contains bright spots, however. Citizen groups are more active than ever in their advocacy in behalf of children, and there are some indications that these groups may yet weld themselves into a potent force in behalf of our nation's children. Increasing numbers of media people have begun investigating the problems of child and family life in a growing number of reports on compensatory education, day care, the problems of foster and adopted children, the plight of children who reside in institutions, and the myriad difficulties faced by our nation's young people – the drug culture, the runaway, and the generally alienated. I heartily welcome these journalistic efforts and the resulting dialogue concerning children and families, for it is only through the honest reporting of the far too many instances in which our nation has failed the young that we will become aware of what is wrong and what we should do about it. I particularly welcome a national dialogue concerning the unmet needs of children, for it is the only way to destroy the myth that our nation is so child-oriented that there is nothing left to do for children.

The nation cannot move forward until we have a clear picture of what remains to be done. In this regard, another bright sign is a growing group of congressmen who have made the problems of children and families their major concern. I do not wish to give the impression that there are some congressmen who are for children and families and others who are against them. All congressmen are for children and their families and all would like to contribute to the construction of a sound policy on behalf of children. However, it is not enough simply to be "for" children. I am particularly impressed with that still relatively small but growing cadre of congressmen who are really willing to expend the intellectual effort, time, and energy required to educate themselves about the nature of child development – what the barriers to optimal development of all children are, and what social policy must be constructed if these deficiencies in our national fabric are to be corrected. There can be few meaningful legislative initiatives on behalf of children until we have a coterie of congressmen whose area of knowledgeability and sense of purpose is centered about children in the same way that other groups of congressmen are particularly knowledgeable and concerned with such problems as agricultural policy, the military establishment, or space exploration. It is particularly encouraging that congressmen interested in child and family policy are to be found in both of our political parties, and as long as we have such congressmen as Mondale, Javits, Kennedy and Taft in the Senate, and Brademas, Hansen, Reid and Quie in the House, the needs of children will be spoken to by knowledgeable individuals possessing intellectual force as well as compassion.

If I might be somewhat presumptuous, I think that another bright spot was the establishment of the Office of Child Development in the executive branch of government: at long last a high-visibility federal agency charged with the coordination of efforts in behalf of children and, perhaps more importantly, charged with the day-to-day advocacy at the national level on behalf of children and their families.

The child's needs of the 70's center about those myriad health, educational, and welfare concerns that are continually brought to our attention by the citizen groups, the media, con-

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gressmen, and those advocates within OCD noted above. Two of these major types of programs extremely relevant for meeting children's needs in the 70's will be discussed here.

The first can be classified as compensatory education programs for those children who can be helped by them. While the Head Start program would be an example at the national level, I also include here many experimental programs found around the country, such as those of Caldwell, Gray, Weikhart, Sprigle, Karnes, and Engelman. The second type of program I think our nation is going to emphasize is day care programs for children of working mothers. These children may or may not need the type of compensatory, remedial, or preventive efforts that are needed by the children in the first category.

In discussing early childhood intervention programs, it must be noted that the value of such efforts is being seriously questioned. This questioning goes well beyond Jensen's blanket indictment that compensatory education has failed. The criticisms are being raised as a result of some rather fine-grained analyses of compensatory education programs by learned investigators who can hardly be considered hostile towards preschool intervention efforts. I refer to recent papers by such distinguished workers as Carl Bereiter, Larry Kohlberg, and Sheldon White.

In Defense of Head Start

Because Head Start is the single largest compensatory program in the country, much of the discussion about the value of compensatory education centers on whether it has succeeded. This is an important question to answer, because Head Start is looked to for guidance as to the direction that future efforts should take. The early euphoria concerning it has given way to a negativism in which Head Start is frequently dismissed as an abject failure.

Only seven years ago Head Start was the "Sesame Street" of 1965, and not enough good things could be said about it. Since then a very damaging evaluation study, the Westinghouse Report, was released. It was used in many quarters as evidence that no lasting benefits are achieved by the Head Start effort. We have seen this negativism concerning the program reflected in the popular press. About two years ago, the *U.S. News and World Report* quoted an unnamed White House official as stating, "Head Start is clearly a failure. It is nothing but a babysitting service for welfare mothers." Needless to say, I could never track down that particular White House source. More recently, we have seen Head Start written off even in such liberal quarters as the *New Republic*, in which Martin Mayer's article passed off Head Start in a word or two as clearly a failure. Such a cavalier dismissal of Head Start can also be found in the writing of such experts as Eysenck in his recent book, *The IQ Question*.

I would like to go on record as stating that Head Start, the largest and most important social action experiment mounted in behalf of needy children in the history of our nation, can by no stretch of the imagination be considered a failure. It has produced real benefits. The problem is that we treat so many of our social action programs as fads: we love them too much when they are young, and we despise them too much when they become older (although it is difficult to view a program seven years old as very ancient). Let us examine the record. A central part of Head Start is its health and nutrition components—never touched upon in the Westinghouse Report, never mentioned by its critics. Education in the early years must be developmental in nature; that is, concerned with the total development of the child. What is more important to the child's learning, to the quality of his life, to determining what he can become, than his physical health and well-being?

Over the years, some 35 percent of Head Start children were found to suffer from an identifiable physical defect. Seventy-five percent of these children were provided with the medical treatment required to correct these deficiencies. This care was extended to literally hundreds of thousands of children. Head Start continues to be the single largest delivery system of health services to poor children in this nation. The physical health and well-being of Head Start children has also been enhanced as a result of our nutritional efforts. Hungry Head Start children have been fed, and balanced diets have been introduced into their homes for the first time. Before optimal learning can take place, a child's body must be sound and his nutritional needs must be met. This truism, though often stated, is not as often acted upon. From its earliest days, Head Start has been committed to the importance of a healthy body for every participant in the Head Start program,

and the program has acted vigorously to make such a goal a reality. Yet the success of the Head Start program in this area appears to be nowhere noted.

Positive Influences

Head Start has also not received the credit it deserves for its vigorous introduction of the concept of parent involvement. It is parent involvement which holds the greatest potential for correcting those problems which interfere with the child's optimal development. Experts alone will not make our children whole and well. The most important determinants of a child's development continue to be the quality of his interactions with his parents and the nature of his home. Programs conducted in isolation from the home, without the involvement of the parents, will inevitably fail.

It was Head Start that grasped this principle early and brought it to the attention of the nation. Who had heard of parent involvement before 1965? Head Start made parent involvement a reality, and provided the impetus which spread this concept to other national and state programs, such as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Taking parents into our confidence, making partners of them rather than treating them as an alien force, indicates to them that "experts" appreciate their importance. Many parents never had a sense that what they did made a difference in their child's life. The parent who has a real role in Head Start, or the school program, or any other program that deals with his or her child, gains a new sense of dignity, important both to the quality of family life and to the child himself. I cannot stress too highly what this means to the developing child. The early years are vital, and children of a parent or parents who feel ineffective soon get the notion that they, too, are worthless. Parents who have a sense of worth and a sense of being able to impact their children's environment, relay to their children this same sense of worth and effectiveness. From their involvement in the Head Start program, parents also acquire improved child-rearing practices which continue to have positive effects on the developing child long after his Head Start year is over.

Another aspect of Head Start which has gone unnoticed by its critics is the fact that it is an important positive social force. While everyone notes the Westinghouse Report, I have yet to see the popular press pick up an account of one of the most important social evaluations of the last ten years, The Kirschner Report. This report indicates that communities which have Head Start centers are becoming increasingly mobilized in behalf of children's needs. In 58 cities where Head Start programs exist, more than 1,500 improvements in the educational and health care of children could be identified.

Another important aspect of the Head Start program is the fact that more than 9,000 individuals from the ghettos, barrios, Indian reservations, and other impoverished areas have been placed in college training. Each will complete associate or bachelor degrees in early childhood education. They are pulling themselves out of poverty, while providing a resource this nation badly needs, a cadre of individuals trained to work with young children.

Another aspect of the program which is often overlooked by those who quote the Westinghouse Report is the unassailable fact that children who have just completed Head Start, as compared to children who have not experienced the program, are superior on cognitive as well as personality and motivational measures. When the two groups enter elementary school, the superiority of the Head Start children is often lost, but to my mind, this evidence represents a challenge to our elementary schools to continue the efforts successfully initiated by the Head Start program.

In regard to the long-term effectiveness of the Head Start program, I am pleased to have something new to unveil to you. In the near future, a compendium of longitudinal studies of Head Start will be released to the nation. (You must remember that the Westinghouse Report was not an adequate longitudinal study. It did not follow both Head Start and comparable non-Head Start children for three years.) We will be reporting a number of carefully conducted and controlled longitudinal studies of the long-term effects of preschool compensatory programs. The overarching conclusion emanating from these several independent investigations is that the lasting gains of the Head Start program are not nearly as small as indicated by the Westinghouse Report. Many of these studies found that the superiority of the Head Start children over the comparable control children was maintained into the early grades. The gains were not huge, and I am not going to suggest that if we simply

"inoculate" a child for a year in Head Start, we can forget the rest of his life. But this survey certainly paints a different picture from that emanating from the Westinghouse Report.

Furthermore, there are findings in these longitudinal investigations that are consistent with both developmental theorizing and common sense, and which indicate what future practices in early childhood education should be followed. These studies strongly suggest that the magnitude of the Head Start gain that was maintained rested upon two factors. One was the involvement of the parents in the program. If a child has one set of experiences 3 or 4 hours a day, and a different set the other 10 or 12 waking hours, the impact of the 3 or 4 hours will naturally remain small. But if the parent learns to interact with the child in the constructive manner that occurs in the child care center, the child has the continuous support and interactions of a sort that produce optimal growth and development; and in addition, this parental support continues after the child leaves the Head Start program. Thus, the most important positive forces for the child's social and cognitive development continue to impact on the child.

The second factor is that the Head Start program is most effective when it is followed by another compensatory effort. This must be one which builds upon the skills of the child, rather than simply placing the child into a conventional educational program which is insensitive to his special needs. This finding reiterates that educational efforts must be sensitive to the continuity of human development. We have continually sought magic periods where relatively small investments of public money will unrealistically guarantee huge payoffs in terms of the total development of children. What the knowledge of development tells us and what our experimental findings continue to confirm is that every year in the life of the young child is a magic period.

After presenting this essentially positive view of Head Start, I think it is appropriate to point out that Head Start does have some important practical and conceptual problems. I mention this because it is important that we learn from experimental efforts such as Head Start. It is important that we be honest in saying what we can do and what we cannot do, and most importantly, what we have learned. Only in this way can our future efforts in behalf of children be more effective. One thing we have learned from our own monitoring reports is that Head Start is of inconsistent quality around the nation. In certain

Photo by: Lyn Gardiner

communities it is very good, in many communities it is mediocre, and in some communities it is poor. In my estimation, in terms of the quality of what we are delivering, Head Start continues to be a dream unrealized.

One of the saddest results of our monitoring efforts was the finding that many Head Start teachers have little knowledge of the nature of the developing child. Too many people taking care of children in Head Start centers simply do not know what they are doing. The core of all early childhood programs is the relationship between the important adults in that center and the child. We must have adults, women and men, who understand child development, who have been trained in the principles of caring for children, and who are sensitive to children in their interactions with them. Without adult caretakers who possess these characteristics, no program for children can be expected to be optimally effective.

The Cognitive Emphasis

Other Head Start problems continue to plague us. The program was caught up in a cognitive emphasis very quickly. Many concluded that Head Start was intended to make every child brilliant, so IQ measurements began to appear everywhere, and the success of the program was evaluated in terms of changes or nonchanges on such intelligence measures. Head Start was set up to improve the cognition of children, but the overriding essence of the program was never conceptualized as cognitive improvement alone. Cognition became overemphasized, and became wedded to the naive environmentalism which was particularly rampant in 1965 but which is declining somewhat today.

It would appear that we held Piaget and Werner and other European cognitive theorists at arms' length for decades, but in the good old American tradition, once we discovered Piaget, we discovered him with a vengeance! There are a number of historical strands that all came together in 1965 making improved cognition the thing to aim for. In the initial enthusiasm for cognitive developments we forgot many parts of the child which are very important in determining what that child is to become.

Children are not equivalent to IQ scores. Nor is their everyday social competence equivalent to their IQ scores. Our state hospitals, penitentiaries, and welfare rolls are still peopled with individuals of quite high intelligence; yet the IQ score became the primary indicator of success or failure, partially because of our cognitive emphasis and partially for lack of a better measure. It appeared that the goal of Head Start was the production of a cadre of geniuses to eventually man the professorial posts at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. We must never allow our compensatory education and day care programs to be assessed in such narrow terms again. It is my opinion that in this country we are continually crucifying our children on a cross of IQ. There are bright children and there are less than bright children. They are all worthy of our love and all deserving of our best efforts to ensure their healthy development.

The goal of Head Start programs and all remedial programs should be to produce socially competent human beings. We should begin appreciating the fact that the entire range of cognitive abilities is represented in every socioeconomic group. Furthermore, we must be aware that we are not going to repeal the biological law of human variability. What we must remember is that just about every child with the exception of the severely handicapped, can adapt to and contribute to our society. The goal is not to make everyone brilliant; it is to make everyone use the intelligence he has.

In my own research, reviews, and analysis of the problem, I have at least convinced myself, and hopefully a few others, that one of the most serious problems with our economically disadvantaged children is not in the sphere of cognitive development at all. Rather, it is in the sphere of social and emotional development. My own work indicates that these children suffer less from stupidity than from the lack of motivation to use the intelligence they have. They have motivational needs which get in the way of their cognitive performance, their school performance, and their job performance later in life. Until they learn to relate to others, to view themselves and others in a positive way, and to begin setting up realistic, productive goals for themselves, all of the cognitive training that we can devise will have little long-term effect.

Although cognitive development is a critical factor in social competence, we must rediscover the whole child by beginning programs for young children that take their motivational and social structure just as seriously as present programs take

cognitive structure and IQ scores.

We have to approach children honestly. We can never ensure that every child's score on *any* measure will be above the mean. We must be realistic about what we can actually do. One reason I emphasize the social and motivational system is that the system which is so important in determining social competence is much more malleable than the cognitive system is, although both systems reflect a variety of biological and environmental experiences. It is very difficult to raise the rate of an individual's cognitive development permanently. I do not feel that it cannot be done, but I believe that it is much easier to change a child's attitudes, motives, goals, and affective features – which are just as important in determining what that child is going to become – than to change his cognitive features.

I mentioned earlier the naive environmentalism which caused Head Start to be oversold in the early days. Would any person who knows anything about child development ever say to this nation, "Yes, give me a child for some magic little program for eight weeks, and three years later you'll see the gains and the benefits thereof." Utter nonsense. But we were captured by the notion that these minimal interventions, which were token programs, would make a difference in children's lives. Even the laymen finally said, "You can't inoculate a child in eight weeks. There are all those years before and all those afterwards. You need something more than that."

As a result, Head Start evolved into a one-year program. Obviously the gains were not huge and the nation became disenchanted with Head Start. The search for magic periods began, with infancy being the magic period that captured the most attention. Investigators soon left the nation with the impression that the problems of child development would be solved if we could just manage to put a mobile over every child's crib.

Americans are impatient people, too frequently seeking simple solutions to complex problems. There is no magic period for the simple reason that *all* of the years of a developing child are magic periods. The President took a step in the right direction when he indicated that what we must be concerned with is a block of time in a child's life from zero to five years. Those are important years, years of great change. But I must go on record and say that the first five years are not enough either. If everything is done for a child between zero and five, a better human being will be produced, but that will not result in the optimal development of the child. The stage-like progression in the cognitive system takes place at least to the fourteenth year of life. These stages each build upon the other; the fact that the first stage occurred at the right time because of the right interweave of the biological factors in growth and environmental factors guarantees very little about the next stage. This is true of social as well as cognitive development. When you see our adolescents pursuing a life course that is self-destructive, you realize that if one cares about children, one needs concentrated efforts to take place not from birth to five, but at minus nine months – from conception, where growth begins – through the high school years at least. I am simply asserting that there is a basic continuity to all aspects of life, and our efforts for children must respect this fundamental fact of human development.

I believe that, early in its history, Head Start made another mistake. Since it served only the poor, its very name created a backlash. I wish we would have given this program another name. What we really meant when we coined the name was that by attending the program, these children would have a head start over *themselves*. Unfortunately, parents whose children were ineligible for the program thought: "Those children are getting a head start over *my* children. Just because I'm $50 above this income, and someone else is $50 below it, they get all these services and their children get this and that, usually with my tax dollars, and they are paying nothing." There was a backlash against Head Start, not because it was bad, but because it was good and because all people wanted it for their children. It is clear that programs in the future must employ realistic fee schedules to permit the participation of children from all income groups.

There are three reasons why children's programs must move in this direction. Until programs are mounted that provide services to all children, they will never have wide public support. Programs that are mounted just for poor children will always remain vulnerable for a very simple reason: poor people have little political clout. When we begin developing programs that serve all of the nation's children, with fees charged to those families who are able to pay, we will have programs that will

have wide appeal for our citizenry and therefore for our Congress.

Another reason why programs should include children of all socioeconomic circumstances can be found in our many studies on the nature of child development. My reading of this developmental literature tells me that children grow best when they have many models to interact with. While all the research findings are not in, I believe we will discover that we should be mixing children across economic class lines. It is not just that a middle class child can give something to a child in impoverished circumstances, but the middle class child can receive something as well. Research in this area suggests that our poor children have certain qualities that our more affluent children could emulate: for instance, greater creativity and greater earlier independence. I am convinced that if we have programs which allow children of varying economic circumstances to mix with each other, there will be gains to all of our children in terms of their development.

Finally, and this is a very touchy issue, I think such mixing is necessary for social-psychological reasons as well. The nation cannot continue to segregate very young children across socio-economic class lines and expect the kind of tolerance and interaction in adulthood that makes this country what it is supposed to be. When people are fractionated into groups, they do develop in-group feeling, but they invariably develop out-group hostilities; and I do not know how much more out group hostility our society can stand. For this reason we must develop programs, at least for our very young children, that do everything they can to promote interaction between children of different backgrounds.

One final problem with Head Start is that it did not remain true to its own experimental nature, but instead became a new orthodoxy. What started as an experimental program and, by congressional fiat, remains an experimental program, in many cases is not treated as such at all. It has become a new orthodoxy, to be defended against its critics at all cost, never to be changed to provide different services or better services as we gain more knowledge. Head Start should return to its experimental orientation — not get smaller, but get larger and more experimental. Let us be the kind of pioneers with Head Start in 1972 that we were in 1965. Let us try new forms, let us discard the rigid concepts we started with which are now outmoded. Does every child need Head Start simply because his family makes X number of dollars? I think we have denigrated the poor with that kind of concept. Many of these children do need Head Start but others do not. Let us not confuse economic criteria with the nature of the child's upbringing.

Of those children whom we serve in Head Start, who do need Head Start, who do need preventive or compensatory programs, does every one of them need five half days a week: why has that inflexible form become the panacea? We must use what we know, and one thing we do know is that there are many ways to help families and children. We should begin packaging a variety of services in Head Start centers and take a more individualized approach to the needs of families and children. Let us save the expensive, intensive programs for children who need them, and provide less intensive programs for children with different needs.

I see a Head Start of the future to include Family and Child Centers which will provide a variety of programs that will help children and families. These programs should include such diverse efforts as the care of pregnant mothers and Home Start. In respect to Home Start, a major wave of the future may well be home-based rather than center-based programs. Given the relatively low cost and high effectiveness, there should be many more opportunities for parents of all socio-economic classes to have available to them trained individuals who work with the parents and provide a resource for them in the difficult and demanding job of child rearing. I see Health Start programs for children directed at the more limited but important health needs of those children who do not participate in the broad spectrum developmental programs. I see two- or three-day programs for children who only need programs of this duration for their optimal development. I see five-day programs and intensive programs, beginning much earlier than the age of five, for handicapped children and children whose development is at particularly high risk.

I thus see the Head Start of the future not as a rigid program, but rather as a center ministering to all of the child and family needs of the neighborhood in which it is located. Its commitment would not be to a particular developmental program, but rather to the optimal development of all children

in the neighborhood. It should be a broker for children's services and direct parents toward those services available in a community. The Head Start center should also be a focal point for advocacy in behalf of children so that services for children which are presently unavailable become available. All of this demands that Head Start take an honest look at itself and at the real needs of children, return to its commitment of being a ground breaker in behalf of children's programs, create and evaluate new programs, and evolve into the type of family and child center that best meets the many family and child needs we are all too cognizant of.

Day Care

The type of program which represents the most pressing child care need in the nation today is day care for the children of working mothers. The 1970 White House Conference on Children named this as the number one priority. Approximately 50 percent of American mothers with preschool and school age children are working mothers. The question of what to do with their children has become a problem of tragic proportions. There are today over a million children we refer to as latch-key children. These are relatively young children who do not have the care of an adult; they are forced to care for themselves much too early in life. Is it surprising that this is the pool of children from which we draw so many juvenile delinquents? We have another group of over one half-million children in this nation cared for by a sibling under sixteen, an age much too young to have such responsibility. Not only are we denying young children the kind of socializing experiences they should have with adults, we are also denying the caretaker-children the precious commodity of their own childhood.

Beside the problems of the unattended or underattended child, there are great problems with the quality of available day care. The bulk of day care found in this country is not provided in those splendiferous centers organized by a handful of experts and reported in the professional literature. In fact, most day care is not provided in centers at all. Approximately 40 percent of all day care takes place in the child's own home or the home of a neighbor, while another 40 percent is provided in family group day care homes, where a woman cares for five or six children. In a recent report on the quality of day care presented by Mary Keyserling for the National Council of Jewish Women, the description of day care provided our children often sounds like a horror story. There are too many instances of children being cared for by alcoholics or by women too senile to care for themselves. We continue to discover that in the most advanced nation in the world, day care for some children results in their abuse. In less dramatic instances, the nation is willing to take for granted custodial center care that, while guaranteeing the physical safety of the child, discourages his exploration, denies him those experiences which result in a sense of worth, and stultifies his cognitive and personality development.

Photo by Susan Erted

The problem of day care for the children of working mothers must and will be met in this nation. The issue is not whether we are going to have day care. We already have day care. The real issue is what the quality of this day care is to be. Is it going to be custodial, which in many cases is little more than a euphemism for the type of care that results in children becoming less than they can be? Or is it to be developmental day care with components for health, education, nutrition, and parental involvement?

There is a major new source of funds on the

horizon in the day care provisions of HR 1, the Administration's welfare reform plan. I want to take this opportunity to tell you how troubled I am by the pronouncements made both in the Congress of the United States and by many experts in the area of child development. These pronouncements assert that the quality of day care being planned in HR 1 will be custodial in nature. I have had several discussions with Secretary Richardson on this point, who is just as troubled as I am, but somehow or other this myth is abroad in the land. It is not true. The President's commitment to the quality of this day care, which is contained in his message introducing welfare reform legislation, makes it abundantly clear that day care under this act will be developmental in nature. OCD's role, and my most important commitment, will be to see that when the welfare reform plan is passed, the day care provided under that piece of legislation will be conducive to the growth of children. If this is not the case, we will be sacrificing a very important segment of the next generation of America's population.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of the quality of day care in determining the child's growth and development. For preschool children, we are talking about a socializing setting in which the child spends eight to 10 hours of his daily life. For the young school aged child, day care often means an hour or two before school, several hours after school, and all day during the summer and on school vacations. Furthermore, day care for the child of working parents often goes on year after year. Thus, the quality of the day care the child receives takes its place along with the quality of socializing experiences in the home to determine the child's development. The interactions the child has with the adults providing day care are very influential in determining the child's attitudes, values, aspirations, and intellectual development. To assert that such responsibility to the child is fulfilled when the child's physical safety is guaranteed is as nonsensical as to assert that a parent's responsibilities are fulfilled once the physical needs of the child are met.

There is another aspect of day care which is not sufficiently discussed. A parent is not oblivious to what happens to his children when he is forced to place them into bad day care arrangements. Parents need not be sophisticated in child psychology to see the immaturity of the teen who babysits their children in the parents' home, the ineptitude of the single caretaker in the family day care home, or the joylessness and boredom which permeate so many larger day care centers. These parents see the consequences of such care rather quickly. They see it in the unhappy child, the whining child, the bedwetter, and the child forever turned off by hours of care in the hands of those only minimally committed to the full growth and development of the children they serve. Parents see the results of poor day care in their children's school problems, asocial behavior, and extraordinary commitment to the peer culture and its questionable values rather than to the more mature standards of wiser and caring adults. What has often been left unsaid is the consequence of such arrangements not only to the children, but to the parents and the society at large. It is a strange parent indeed who does not love his or her children. The guilt and concern experienced by so many parents in regard to the day care arrangements they have made have become all too common in America's families. In terms of our nation's employment record and the productivity of our industry, how sanguine can a mother be and how good an employee can she become if she is continually concerned about what her child is experiencing in her absence?

A Classless Concern

Unlike compensatory education, the problem of day care is not a problem of the poor. It is a problem of the working and lower middle class. These are families who have discovered that both parents must work in order to provide their children with those goods and benefits that even minimally define the good life in our country. It is not uncommon to find the problem of a good day care setting for one's child in even more affluent homes. It is this concern of mothers in all socioeconomic classes that makes it understandable why the top plank in the platform of every women's liberation group in this country is high quality day care. Some women work because they have to, some women work because their work is an avenue to their own self-actualization. No mother wants to work if the cost is the destruction of her child.

Thus the problem of day care in America centers about the issues of quantity and quality. These issues, however, are themselves interrelated.

There must be a growth in the sheer number of day care slots available for the children of working mothers. However, so far as national social policy and legislation are concerned, the growth in the number of day care slots should not be so rapid and unplanned as to make the federal government an impetus for poor day care. Dollars alone may be critical in determining the quantity of day care, but not its quality. Indeed, too many dollars can only provide a much too rapid expansion of the type of day care in which the nation will eventually take little pride. The need for day care is great, but the human resources available to deliver day care are not. What is needed in our nation, after the recognition that day care is the major problem facing American families, is a national plan in which we incrementally add day care resources at a rate commensurate with our country's ability to utilize these new resources in a manner that guarantees quality care.

Let us also not delude ourselves about the cost of day care for our nation. In the current rhetoric on day care, one too frequently hears the unthought-through assertion that day care should become a social utility available to any parent for the asking. Perhaps such a phenomenon may come to America someday, but those of us concerned with high quality day care for children must be aware that such social utilities only come to nations after much analysis, after the benefits of a smaller successful effort become well-known, and after a tremendous ground swell of enthusiasm in which the citizenry voice their willingness to be taxed the price of the utility in question. In the day care area, our rhetoric has outdistanced our analysis and the education of the general citizenry as to what the day care needs are and how they might best be met.

But the children cannot wait. The tens of billions of dollars that are necessary to fund a total day care system will not materialize overnight. It is therefore imperative for those who want day care to move on several fronts. Day care must be viewed as a problem for all segments of our society, and not one to be solved by the federal government alone. The federal government must do its part by paying for the day care of poor parents who are placed into training for the work force for the first time. In addition, the government will have to subsidize the day care of the near poor if these families are to have the wherewithal to purchase quality day care for their children. However, to the best of their abilities, families will have to pay their share of day care. Every effort should be made to give these parents the information which will lead them to select the purchase of quality rather than poor day care as opposed to a color television set.

The cost of quality day care for any family is large, and a society that talks so much about helping families meet their obligations should be willing to help. State and local governments, churches, and other philanthropic organizations should help. Industry should learn of the importance of day care for a stable and productive work population, and do much more than it is presently doing to provide day care for their workers' children. Unions, so concerned with the quality of their members' lives, have done relatively little in solving the day care problems confronting us. Schools have been particularly remiss in not utilizing their resources to meet the day care needs of the children the school serves. People continue to perceive the day care problem as one involving only preschool children. Over two-thirds of the children in need of day care are school aged children. Why can't the schools mount programs for children who need day care in which children engage in supervised activities before the formal school day begins and for those hours between the end of the school day and the time the parents return from work? Clearly, our entire society must be mobilized if we are to even provide the number of spaces necessary to meet the current day care needs of our nation.

However, even if the quantity issue were solved, the quality issue would still be with us. In this regard, the nation would be concerned not only about the quality of the day care to be established in the future, but also about the quality of the day care we presently have. The federal government, through Title IV of the Social Security Act, is already spending several 100 million dollars on day care. A number one priority of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should be to guarantee that the day care presently being purchased with federal dollars be of a quality consistent with that which the President has spoken for in his welfare reform plan.

High quality day care purchased with federal monies can only be assured when the federal establishment commits itself to an explicit set of

minimal day care standards, to providing the dollars for the day care that these standards require, and to developing a monitoring system that ensures that these standards are obeyed by those who receive federal money. With the enunciation of the 1972 day care standards and the analysis of the cost associated with them, OCD has taken a major step forward in making quality day care a reality. But again, legislation, money, standards, and commitment, though crucial, do not guarantee quality day care.

Good versus poor day care essentially revolves about the training and ability of the adult who cares for the child. The day care needs of the nation have grown, but there has been no parallel growth in the pool of individuals trained to care for young children. If both the quantity and quality problems are to be solved, this nation must immediately begin developing a new profession: the child care worker who receives circumscribed training in the care of children, whose abilities to care for children are assessed by his performance rather than by his test scores, and who can be recruited at a cost that our nation can afford to pay. I do believe that the new profession of Child Development Associate, stimulated by the Office of Child Development, may well be the answer in future years to the manpower problem so central in resolving the issue of quality day care in a positive manner.

I would like to end this discussion on a note of caution. I do not think that the solution to the nation's child care problems is to provide every young child with a preschool education or to place every child from a certain age on in a child care center. I believe that we should do everything in our power to strengthen and support family life rather than supplant it in any way. We must provide good substitute socializing settings for children of mothers who choose to work. But we should be wary of those who suggest that centers or experts are intrinsically superior to home settings. We must be aware of how the nature of the family has changed. We should use this awareness in developing social institutions that are not just centers for children, but also institutions that work directly toward supporting family life.

Photo by Lyn Gardner

What has happened to the family? For one thing, the extended family has declined. Once a grandparent, aunts, uncles, and many other relatives were involved in raising the child. They provided the kind of support both parents and

children need, but they are no longer with us. We now typically have the nuclear family. We also see a lessening of community support for child rearing. Let me use myself as an example. I don't even know the children who live three doors from me. I am not too atypical; people move in, people move out; I'm busy, they're busy. As a result, I take no interest in helping the families on my block raise their children, and they do not help me to raise mine.

I remember when I was a boy, things were much different. There was a particular woman in my neighborhood who was the bane of my existence. If I ever smoked behind a barn, that woman would invariably show up at my house that evening and report to my parents. There was no hiding from her, and I hated that woman with a passion. In looking back, I am very fond of her today because I realize that she cared about me. Her acceptance of a share of responsibility for children in the neighborhood is what I mean by community support for parents. We rarely provide that support to families any more. We remain in our own homes and worry about our own. The mobility in our society prevents us from becoming involved in a community to any great extent.

Urie Bronfenbrenner put it very well when he said that, in so many homes, the children's hour has become the cocktail hour. We must strengthen family life. How? By doing a number of specific things. First, I think women deserve a real choice as to whether they want to work. We should support those women who would like to raise a family, and we should do much more than we are doing today to help those women who would like to do both. Remember, most of the children who need day care are school aged children. Why is it that, in an industrial society that can move towards a 10-hour day, four-day week, we cannot have the vision to move to a day which is the same length as a school day?

We must do much more in the area of Home Start programs, and this must cut across economic classes. We must train helpers, outreach people, who will go into the homes of parents who request their help in child rearing. We must begin using TV to support family life much more than we do. With cable television imminent, we must see that in every city a channel is reserved for family life which provides interesting, entertaining, and informative programs to help parents be parents.

Finally, one of the least expensive things that we can do is to realize that knowledgeable older people are often no longer in the homes of young parents. We must find a way to give every boy and girl sound knowledge in what being a parent is all about. Why wait for young people to be parents and then try to help them? Why doesn't every high school in this nation have a course in parenthood? There are some courses in some schools, but many of these are little more than transparent efforts to inculcate middle class values. We must develop interesting courses loaded with knowledge. Students should not just passively receive information. They should work with younger children in day care and Head Start centers, and what they do there should become an integral part of their course work. OCD is presently doing all it can to develop such model courses and to convince schools and other community settings of the value in teaching young people about the most important role they will ever assume, namely the role of a parent.

While much has been done, much remains to be done. This is a period of great debate and great turmoil in regard to early childhood. It is a time of confusion and overheated rhetoric, a period when sense must compete with nonsense. But there is certainly a signal in all of this noise. We can agree that our society should do all it can to ensure that its children have sound bodies, and that no child should be permitted to go hungry. We can agree that a variety of early childhood intervention programs would be valuable in alleviating a broad spectrum of physical and psychological ills which handicap children. We can agree that every child of a working mother has a right to a day care environment conducive to his optimal growth, and that every working mother has a right to the peace of mind that the existence of such an environment for her child provides. We can agree that it is the family that is the most important determinant of a child's development, and that our society must do everything it can to support family life. Let experts bring this clear signal to the attention of the American people. I am confident that when people are aware of what our children and families need, they will make their wishes known, and our nation will move forward in behalf of children. Only then will we be a truly child-oriented society.

Photo by Sheri L. Stritz

Photo by Lyn Gardiner

Legislating Child Development

by Walter F. Mondale

To what extent is the government providing help for poor and disadvantaged children in America today? More children than ever before are receiving needed medical care and nutritional assistance, entering and graduating from school, attending colleges and universities. Public investments in them have increased substantially through programs such as the War on Poverty, Medicaid, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Average per pupil expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have doubled in the past ten years.

Yet, even with these increasing expenditures, programs serving children and youth still account for less than ten percent of our national budget, while our young constitute 40 percent of our population, and 100 percent of our future.

Despite expanded funding for education, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reports that 17 million school age children are "educationally deprived." Ten million children are still mired in poverty and the depression which that can breed. Nearly a million are sons and daughters of migrant and seasonal farmworkers whose constant moving and long hours in the field practically preclude effective schooling. Millions of Spanish-speaking children begin school with little or no knowledge of the English language. Almost six million children are handicapped, and sixty percent of them are not receiving the special education services they require. Thousands are American Indians living in substandard housing, and attending schools staffed by teachers who do not understand their language or culture. Millions are the tragic victims of drug abuse. Millions more spend their days in unfit day care centers which make no effort to provide the essential stimulation preschoolers need. And America still has an infant mortality rate higher than 13 other nations.

Walter Mondale, Democratic Senator from Minnesota, is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth.

We may pride ourselves in being a child-centered society, and we may have made some progress, but the lives of millions of children testify that the job has hardly begun.

Governmental Response

The Federal Government's recent record reflects the problems that remain and helps explain their existence. While some progressive education legislation has been enacted – including higher education amendments expanding student assistance programs, a new Indian Education bill, and a bill authorizing funds to improve education in desegregating school districts – the crucial questions of how they will be funded and administered still must be answered.

The record in other areas concerning children is considerably less encouraging. The governmental response to the findings of the 1970 White House Conference on Children has been minimal. Its

Photo by: Lyn Gardiner

recommendations have been largely ignored by the Administration and Congress. Relevant legislation and administrative efforts have tended to overlook children's needs, or meet with opposition. A partial review of the record, however discouraging, provides suggestions of what must be done.

H.R.1, the Administrations's welfare reform proposal, is potentially one of the most significant pieces of legislation for children. But most attention on this bill has centered on providing employment for mothers, with little empnasis on what this may mean to their children. The statute authorizes day care, but is silent on what kind it will be, what standards will apply, and in what way, if any, parents can participate in the selection and operation of these programs. The question of how this legislation affects the children themselves has been largely ignored or submerged in other considerations.

Similarly, the dramatic expansion of funding for services under Title IV-A of the Social Security Act is taking place with too little regard for children's interests. This loosely defined social service program offers three federal dollars for every one state dollar devoted to social services for past, present, and potential welfare recipients. The services it can pay for include alcoholism rehabilitation, day care, family planning, and employment counseling. Because it has benefited from being an open-ended appropriation, with each state's approved proposal being entitled to federal matching without any overall limit on federal funds, the federal investment has jumped from $700 million in fiscal year 1971 to an estimated $5 billion for fiscal 1973.

As this program has ballooned into the largest government source of day care funds, insufficient consideration has been given to the crucial question of the *quality* of the services being requested. Dr. Edward F. Zigler, former Director of HEW's Office of Child Development, has estimated that 80 percent of the day care funded under this program amounts to little more than custodial baby-sitting operations.

Moreover, the program has been administered largely as a form of revenue sharing, rather than as additional funds for services to families and children. No regulation has been issued prohibiting these funds from being used to supplant existing state or local efforts. As a result, federal funds often merely replace state and local appropriations instead of adding to them to provide the additional services that are so critically needed.

Efforts have also been made to water down Medicaid program provisions that require early diagnosis and treatment of poor children. It took HEW almost four years after the bill passed

Photo by Marianne Gontarz

Congress in 1967 to issue regulations implementing this program, and the regulations that finally emerged were extremely weak. Then the Senate Committee on Finance moved to postpone implementation for an additional two years, and eliminate entirely the requirement that states provide medical treatment for the diseases discovered in the screening process. (This action occurred *after* the Mississippi Medicaid Commission discovered 1,301 medical abnormalities in 1,178 poor children it examined.) Thanks to the strong support of the American Academy of Pediatrics and other groups interested in the rights of children, we were successful in convincing the Finance Committee to reverse its action and restore the program. But the painful and difficult problem of assuring that decent regulations are promulgated and enforced still remains.

Other examples abound of decisions affecting

children being made with little regard to children's needs, and of programs enacted to help them – such as the Emergency School Assistance Program – ending up serving other purposes. Some ESAP money designed to help desegregating school districts provide quality education was used instead to support schools which established segregated classrooms or engaged in other forms of "second generation" discrimination. But perhaps the most frustrating example has been the effort to enact child development legislation.

Child Development

The 1970 White House Conference on Children identified the provision of "comprehensive, family-oriented child development programs including health services, day care, and early childhood education" as its number one priority. This decision was based on an understanding of how the beginning years of life provide the foundation for a child's intellectual, emotional, and physical development. The Conference recognized the extent to which inadequate prenatal care, poor nutrition and health care in the preschool years, and other disadvantages of poverty can handicap a child for life. It realized that the dramatic increase in the number of working mothers has produced a sizable and largely unmet need for quality day care, with the result that millions of children are now spending their most formative years in underfunded, overcrowded, and depressing day care situations. Bipartisan legislation designed to carry out this White House Conference recommendation was introduced in the Senate by myself and Senator Javits, and in the House of Representatives by Congressmen Brademas and Reid, after consultation with a large number of organizations concerned with families and children. They included the AFL-CIO, Common Cause, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the National Education Association, the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, the League of Women Voters, the Leadership Council on Civil Rights, and the Washington Research Project Action Council.

The bills were designed to assist families in providing the kind of health, education, and nutritional services they want for their children. They recognized the increasing strain that families and children are experiencing as extended family support has given way to the isolated nuclear family, and as mobility and the increasing pace of life has decreased community and neighborhood ties. The percentage of mothers working outside the home rose from 18% to 43% since World War II, commuting has become a way of life for many fathers and mothers, and television has become a constant companion of many children. In short, at a time when an increasingly complex society pressures parents and removes supports that were available to earlier generations, this bill sought to provide help.

For parents or prospective parents unfamiliar with the responsibilities of parenthood, the bill offered classes in child development. For those unable to afford it on their own, the bill offered prenatal care and early health diagnosis and treatment for their children. For those who wanted help in providing educational opportunities for their preschool youngsters, it offered tutors to work with them and their children in the home, or part-day programs like Head Start or nursery schools. And to address the problems of inadequate and custodial day care programs that many children of working mothers are now experiencing, it offered help to upgrade existing day care homes and centers, and funds to create new ones of the highest quality.

The programs authorized were entirely voluntary. Only children whose parents requested them would participate. They required real parent participation by providing that parent dominated councils make all decisions concerning the kinds of programs to be funded, the staff to run them, and their policies and curricula. They sought to strengthen families and help children.

Congressional approval of the day care legislation, difficult for any major legislation and especially for bills not proposed by the Administration, is largely attributable to the broad coalition of individuals and organizations that developed the bill and worked for it. It was not a bill for poor children alone, or minority children alone, or children of working parents alone, or handicapped children alone, or preschool children alone, but a bill for all these groups, a bill for children and families. And because of the bill's breadth and the strong support of a broad coalition, the Congress was moved to act.

The rest is history. After the hearings were held and extensive committee deliberations took place, the bill was passed by bipartisan votes in both chambers – 63-17 in the Senate and 210-186 in the House.

Then the President vetoed it.

While he listed many objections to the bill, the most general (and politically most effective) was his charge that the bill threatened families, rather than supported them.

An effort to override the veto fell seven votes short of the two-thirds majority required. The revised version, introduced again this year, passed the Senate 73-12, but has not yet been the subject of any House action.

Photo by Lyn Gardner

Most of the lessons to be drawn from these efforts are self-evident. The importance of examining all proposals – from welfare reform to a four day work week – in terms of their impact on children and families is central. The need to structure efforts to meet children's needs in ways that strengthen families remains essential. The desirability of a coalition approach is clear. And the need to better inform the public about these issues and efforts cannot be overemphasized.

I fear that part of the problem has been that those of us who share a commitment to helping children and their families tend to spend a fair amount of time talking to each other. We have to extend this dialogue. We have to discuss these needs and problems with people who would not know what a day care center was if they tripped over it. We need to talk about the value of Head Start programs with people whose families have been blessed with all of the privileges.

Despite the setbacks I have described, there are some very encouraging signs for the future.

A children's lobby that speaks solely on behalf of children and families has been formed. It could help immeasurably on all suggestions discussed above. And it could rank congressmen and senators on how they vote on key issues affecting children and families.

The fight for a child development bill is bringing many people concerned about children into the legislative-political process. The Senate has created a Subcommittee on Children and Youth, and we are becoming increasingly able to provide a Congressional focal point for concerns that were previously overlooked.

The responsibility to make the case for adequate and effective child care remains. If this effort can be sustained and strengthened, the reports of White House Conferences on Children can become more than reminders of things left undone, and we can begin to move considerably closer to a society based on justice for children.

For Every Walk of Life

by Margaret M. Heckler

A national system of quality day care centers, locally controlled and federally assisted, is an idea whose time has come. This fact emerges principally from the sociological profile traced by the 1970 census:

- 40 percent of all U.S. women work, making up 37 percent of the country's labor force.
- One-sixth of all children in America live with only one parent.
- Five and one half million American families —one-tenth of the total—are headed by women.
- Among young married women with children under six years of age, one out of four works.

It is fair to conclude from these figures that a great many women are concerned about what happens to their children while they work. Many are fortunate enough to have their own parents, older children, trusted neighbors, or reliable local baby-sitters to care for their younger children. Many are not that fortunate, and do not have the money to buy the quality day care they would like their children to have.

Hearing on Day Care

If these figures and this conclusion are not enough evidence of a very real national need, I offer the testimony of witnesses at a hearing on day care I organized a year ago in the city of Fall River in my congressional district. With its high percentage of working women, Fall River is, I believe, rather representative of many cities in the country. The primary purpose of the hearing was to gauge the interest in and demand for some kind of day care system. Some 650 people attended, representing literally every walk of life — from industry executives to the waitresses who served the refreshments at the restaurant in which the hearing was held. Not one voice was raised in opposition to the concept of a day care program. While most witnesses gave all-out endorsement to the idea of a day care program, few were able to express a judgment on the best delivery system for a federally-aided program.

Beyond the demonstrable fact that a considerable portion of the "new" American people — new in terms of evolving economics and lifestyles — need and want a form of organized care for their children, there are a number of implications this kind of day care has for the American family, American business and industry, and American society as a whole. Obviously the family unit is the most directly affected. Conversations with young women today very quickly create the impression that most of them intend to pursue careers of one kind or another, whether or not they marry and have children. This indication that women intend to work in the future, plus the fact many do now out of necessity or preference, presages the evolution of parent-child relationships to the point where they must be evaluated on the basis of the quality of time parents spend with their children rather than the quantity of it.

Effects on Families

This kind of relationship, in which parents cannot or do not spend all of their time in the home, in no way destroys the very strongest sense of family. It brings into focus the idea that it is much better to develop each child's full potential in a wholesome, productive environment than to create "latchkey children" left to their own devices for want or ignorance of quality day care. National funds spent now for day care is a more fiscally sound practice — if that is the yardstick — than national funds spent later on crime, drug addiction and unemployment, and this fact has lent momentum to the day care movement as

Margaret Heckler, Republican Congresswoman from Massachusetts, was a member of the Platform Committee, Republican National Convention.

much as shifting economic and sociological patterns.

The effect of day care on the family is the one element which fills opponents with a nameless dread that somehow the American family will be destroyed and American children will be "Sovietized." A great educational campaign on behalf of day care by its adherents is one of the strictest requirements of its eventual acceptance and implementation. The point that must be made is that day care will not change the family today, much less destroy it, because the family is already changing in attitudes and goals. Day care, in this sense, is an effect, not a cause.

Besides that, any successful and acceptable national day care program will have to be totally voluntary and subject to majority control and supervision by the parents of the children involved. That constitutes "local control" and is a key element in any effective day care arrangement.

Another key element is the necessity for day care centers to be open and available to all levels of society with fees related to ability to pay. This kind of socio-economic mix provides a stimulating, enriching atmosphere in which children from different backgrounds can learn from each other.

American business and industry also have a definite stake in day care. As women become a fully accepted part of the nation's work force, industry is going to have to come to grips with the resulting problems. Some firms are already providing day care facilities for the children of their employees. In other cases, unions have taken the lead in dealing with the question and day care has become an issue in some labor-management negotiations. The welfare of employees' children is going to continue to be an integral part of industry's growing social consciousness.

Another area of national life which day care – or its absence – will affect is "volunteerism." Almost every social agency in the country – hospitals, nursing homes, libraries, museums, and the like – rely heavily on volunteer help, often in lieu of cash donations. Without day care, this help would be much more limited than otherwise. Conversely, a day care program itself is going to have to depend a great deal on volunteer help.

Out of this vortex of change and new demands came legislation last year in the first session of the 92nd Congress. Further evidence of the national pressure for a program is found in the fact that the legislation passed both houses by comfortable margins.

It was vetoed by President Nixon at year's end as too expensive and too inefficient, and the veto was upheld. The bill was certainly not the best possible legislation that could have been enacted. It came in the form of an amendment to the Office of Economic Opportunity legislation which precluded the possibility of extensive debate and perfecting changes. No serious attempt was made in the second session to send a new bill to the White House because it was considered a hopeless cause.

Growing Support

But at the Republican national convention in Miami Beach in August, the fullness of the national day care concern again became apparent. I was able to resurrect it as an issue and overcome some initial misunderstanding and misreading of it by the Platform Committee, of which I was a member. The principal problem was to overcome the reasons given for the Presidential veto. We decided to build on President Nixon's stated concern for early childhood when he made a "national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for a healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life." In this connection it was pointed out that quality day care implies just that – a comprehensive program of child development rather than merely custodial care. The result was a unanimously adopted day care plank which endorsed a national system of federally-assisted, locally-controlled, public or private, quality day care centers dedicated to developing the full potential of children. It was then understood and supported by all of the Committee and a surprising number of delegates with unsolicited testimonials.

All of this bodes extremely well for day care in the 93rd Congress convening in January. It considerably strengthens the arguments and logic of proponents. What is required now is a sound, sensible, responsive bill, answering the obvious and often repeated national need with a program around which the wise and honest can rally. Congress has to play catch up with the national mood in responding to this need for comprehensive child care legislation.

Comprehensive Child Development: A Legislative Priority

by Orval Hansen

"Should there be a national system of day care?" is not the question that Congress should be asking. The care of children of working parents is already subject to a system, albeit an ad hoc, jerry-built jumble of private, federal, state and local day care efforts and resources. The *real* question Congress must address is how to adjust this system to ensure that all children who need it can get care beyond what their parents are able to provide.

The Congressional record after three years of strenuous efforts has been the enactment of piecemeal measures: setting a ceiling on Title IV-A expenditures, providing funds for caring for the children of welfare mothers, liberalizing income tax deductions for child care expenses. Each of the measures constituted band-aid aid to cover some specific child care problem, but not until a comprehensive child care measure is enacted will we be able to organize, manage and control our early childhood resources to achieve agreed-upon goals. Too often our programs and good intentions succeed only in cancelling each other out. Through energetic local 4-C organizations or ambitious state level programs, some areas have managed to improve significantly the quality and level of services provided. But I remain convinced that a comprehensive child development measure must be enacted before high-quality services are generally available in most states and localities.

What should this comprehensive legislation do? However the debate about the kind of "delivery system" that would be employed to administer child development services is resolved, I believe that the legislation must accomplish at least four things: coordination of existing programs, parent input and training, personnel training, and participation of children from all economic levels.

Orval Hansen, Republican Congressman from Idaho, is a member of the House Education and Labor Committee.

Coordination

At least five dozen federal programs provide funds for some facet of child development. Each is administered by different officials in a different bureau of the federal government. This diffusion necessitates enormous paperwork for those at the local level who seek the assistance of these programs, and creates uncertainty as to grant levels and program continuations. A comprehensive child development bill should combine several of the major sources of funds – welfare and job training-related services, Head Start, federally-sponsored public school early childhood programs, and new funds – to allow joint administration, or better coordination, so that as many children could be reached with as wide a range of services as possible.

Parents

The role of parents must be a key part of any child development legislation enacted by Congress. So long as parents are meaningfully involved in determining the kinds of services and programs their children are enrolled in, none of the problems of centralized federal government control of upbringing and indoctrination of young children need be feared. Parents would simply not stand for it.

On the positive side, the more parents become involved in determining what happens to their children in a child care program, the more likely they are to express similar concerns at home. Having observed the importance of really listening to a child, reading to a child, providing appropriate toys, and well-balanced meals at the day care center, nursery school, or group care home, they will be inclined to value these same things at home. I would like to see child development programs that take this process even a step further and provide outright efforts to reach interested

parents with information and demonstrations of ways they can help their children achieve normal healthy development.

Personnel Training

Statistics that compare the number of early childhood personnel needed with the number receiving training each year are appalling. Even if we *doubled* our current rates of preparing professional and paraprofessional personnel for work in early childhood programs, it would take more than twenty years to train enough people to provide

Photo by Marianne Gontarz

adequate staffing for all programs. I have introduced legislation which, standing alone or in combination with a comprehensive child development program would stimulate training efforts for all levels of personnel – parent education programs, paraprofessionals, child development associates, B.A. and post-graduate level professionals, management personnel and persons expert in using television and other educational technologies for early childhood education. Ultimately the quality of day care and child development services depends on the quality of the relationship between the individual child and the person or persons caring for him. Comprehensive legislation must include generous provisions for personnel development.

Participation of All Economic Levels

Existing federal programs for child development and day care services are focused almost exclusively on economically disadvantaged children. Children from middle income and wealthy families are served through privately organized nursery schools and day care centers. I believe that this economic segregation of children and services is every bit as discriminatory as the racial segregation we have been fighting in our schools and neighborhoods. Any comprehensive legislation that is enacted should provide for the participation of children from every economic level, with fees scaled to each family's relative financial ability. This would have at least two side benefits: the participation of a broad cross section of the community would prevent these programs from being abandoned or relegated to an inferior status; and also the inclusion of advantaged and disadvantaged children might afford many mutual learning opportunities. Federal funds must be concentrated on the poor and near-poor, but this should never exclude other children from comprehensive programs. I trust that any comprehensive child development legislation enacted by Congress would include this kind of broad participation.

Outlook for the 93rd Congress

The results of the 91st and 92nd Congresses on child development legislation were inconclusive. Extensive hearings were held in the 91st, but legislation never reached the floor. In the 92nd, a bill was enacted and vetoed. Despite Senate passage of a second bill, committee action in the House of Representatives occurred too late in the session to allow the bill to come to the floor. With both Republican and Democrat 1972 Platforms containing strong favorable references to day care services, I am optimistic that a comprehensive child development measure will be enacted in the 93rd Congress.

The Role of the States in Child Care

by Sally V. Allen

Underlying the current national controversy about child care is the pivotal question of responsibility: who should administer services to most effectively meet the needs of the very young child and his family? Philosophies of government and democracy are at issue. Is federalism -- a partnership of the central, state and local governments -- an effective system for the delivery of services to the nation's very young? The question is fundamental. If federally funded programs are inefficiently managed, millions of dollars may be lost in bureaucratic red tape, duplication, overlapping; and heated arguments about the kind of care that should be provided will matter little.

Long after the present generation of preschoolers has grown to maturity, the nation's struggle to bring its many governmental entities into a viable partnership for the optimum management of its resources will undoubtedly continue. In addition to their very real concern that the formative years be enhanced and that existing child care expenditures not be wasted, many state leaders are persuaded that the effective provision of children's -- and all other -- services depends upon the preservation and strengthening of the three levels of government, that the delivery of comprehensive child care programs cannot be realized without substantial state involvement. Like it or not, the states are still the principal vehicle for provision of governmental services. Because governors are the states' chief executives, they must be held responsible for state programs and activities.

It is illusionary to think that the federal government in Washington can effectively manage programs in the thousands of communities of the country directly from Washington. No amount of federal consolidation will eliminate the need for central state involvement. Because we have a system of states, it is in the nation's better interest to make that system work. Restructuring the governmental system to eliminate the states is not an option being given serious consideration. And responsible leadership cannot be built by circumventing the system.

There is distrust of the states, and it is understandable. Red tape, insensitivity to local demands, and inefficiency exist. It is no secret that much of the impetus in child development came from the federal government. But the picture is changing. Reapportionment is bringing a new breed of younger, brighter, aware individuals representing urban and suburban areas into the state legislatures. Governors are more progressive and concerned about national issues than they have ever been. State commissioners of education are more innovative, more committed to the concept of accountability than their predecessors; many are convinced that the early childhood years should be given priority; some, like Wilson Riles of California and Donald Woodington of Colorado, are beginning to talk about restructuring the school system and reallocating existing funds to early childhood development.

Many of the problems states face in administering public programs stem from the federal government. In the early childhood field alone, there are some 320 different federal programs administered by at least 18 agencies. Such proliferation of efforts has led inevitably to duplication, overlapping and waste. Federal confusion and rivalries are duplicated, if not magnified, at the state level. Whatever federal consolidation and coordination are achieved will have minimal impact unless similar centralization can be effected in the states.

At present the bulk of federal funds is administered through four or five state agencies

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(the departments of education, health, mental health, social services and employment). Each set of programs has different regulations, standards and matching requirements. And federal Head Start funds and requirements can bypass the states entirely. Former South Carolina Governor Robert E. McNair has estimated that if Head Start funds could be administered by that state and the need for duplicate administrative structures eliminated, 40,000 more children could be served.

The result is that comprehensive state planning is almost impossible. Local agencies and community groups have come to distrust the state. And statewide efforts to provide special services not currently available are frustrated by an inability to identify needs and concentrate resources on them. In many cases the needs, if identified, cannot be met on a local basis. Personnel training, provision of psychological and other specialized medical services, for example, can be economically and effectively provided only through a state or regional approach.

It is difficult for program administrators to find their way through this confusing picture. It is almost impossible for parents. The sad result of the present disarray is that the parent of a child with more than one problem must be a master social diagnostician to know where to turn for help. Experts throughout the country agree that the major problem now is not money. It is finding a way to inform the public of the wide range of services already available for young children. Because the bulk of federal funds flow through state agencies, there is still a significant opportunity to make these programs complementary, and a growing number of states are trying to make the most of that opportunity.

New State Activity

There is a ground swell of interest and commitment to child development in governors' offices, in legislatures, in state agencies. Many states have provided funds for kindergartens and other broad services (health, mental health) to young children for some time. What is new is the determination to assess statewide needs, to allocate funds where the needs are greatest, and to provide – through the development of new services and particularly through more efficient planning, coordination and delivery of existing programs – comprehensive services for young children and their families.

Significant activity in this direction has recently been undertaken in at least nine states. Florida legislation has established an Office of Early Childhood Development in Governor Askew's office which has been headed since September by Dr. Milton Akers, the former director of the National Association for the Education of Young Children.

The office is charged to assess state needs and recommend methods of coordinating services. Massachusetts has a legislatively established Office for Children in the executive Office of Human Services, headed by a former state legislator, David Liederman. Resulting from a two-year study of the state's early childhood needs, the Office is intended "to assure the sound and coordinated development of all services to children." Licensing, regulation, placement and monitoring of day care, foster care and group care services, centers and facilities are all centralized in a single office.

Governor Andrus of Idaho also established an Office of Child Development by executive order last year. Directed by Dr. Howard Schrag, the Idaho OCD is deeply involved in assessing needs, existing services, and financial resources and establishing state early childhood programs. The State Department of Education in Utah, designated by Governor Rampton to spearhead early childhood efforts, is establishing its own office of child development to plan and coordinate all state programs for the young child. In 1971 Georgia passed legislation placing responsibility for early childhood programs in that state's Department of Education.

Several states in the southeastern part of the United States are also moving rapidly. Much of this activity has been accelerated by the Appalachian Regional Commission, which requires a state plan and planning structure before allocating funds. But some states have gone well beyond the ARC requirements in their commitment to child development. West Virginia, for example, has an interagency coordinating council, directed by newly appointed John Himelrick and chaired by Governor Arch Moore. Its fiscal 1973 budget is approximately $6 million. Governor Winfield Dunn of Tennessee has placed early childhood development among his highest priorities. He is carefully considering whether the current legislative interest in statewide kindergartens is the best use of funds, or whether some alternative ap-

Photo by Lyn Gardner

proach might have more impact. Convinced that the state can benefit from a central administrative structure for coordinating child care programs, he plans to set up a state Office of Child Development early in 1973 either by legislation or executive order.

Perhaps most surprising to those who have argued against increased state responsibility in early childhood development is the new activity in the state of Mississippi. The long and controversial history of that state with the Head Start program is well known. It is less well known that significant steps toward state support of widespread programs for young children were first taken by Governor John Bell Williams in 1971 when his executive order established a State Child Development Council. After taking office early in 1972, Governor William Waller issued an executive order reorganizing and broadening the Council and establishing it within the governor's Office of Education and Training. The Mississippi system includes a network of county and district councils, culminating in the state group. Hugh Vaughan was recently named full-time director for the state. Thus, Mississippi has taken definite steps to get child development programs under way.

Within the last several months the Texas Office of Early Childhood Development Department of

Community Affairs, headed by Ms. Jeannette Watson, has just been appropriated by the legislature in special session $1.7 million for fiscal year 1973. If matched by Title IV-A of the Social Security Act, the Texas OECD fiscal year 1973 budget will total $6.8 million. The office has five priority objectives: (1) assessing needs and developing a plan, (2) initiating local demonstration projects, (3) enhancing local community capability for planning, (4) initiating child development associate training programs, and (5) educating the public about the need for and benefits of early childhood development.

These activities are just the highlights. Some states – California is a key example – have been providing comprehensive services to many of their preprimary children for several years. Others are looking at ways to enhance present services. The Early Childhood Project of the Education Commission of the States, jointly funded by the Office of Child Development and the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has as its single objective assisting the states to implement early childhood programs. Thirty-three governors have asked to participate.

This growing evidence of state interest and activity is significant for several reasons. First, it indicates widespread commitment to the importance of the first several years of life and to comprehensive programs to enhance those years. Most states are not talking about early education – or day care – or other single-purpose programs. They are looking first and foremost at methods to meet the complex and multifold needs of each child. Second, it is clearly based on a rational understanding of the need for priorities and careful planning. Almost without exception, agencies charged with early childhood responsibility are asked to conduct needs assessments and to develop statewide plans. Thirdly, it recognizes that states have a coordinating and facilitating role to play, a responsibility to get services faster and better to the child and his family, but not necessarily to run those programs themselves. The newly created or designated early childhood offices are not assuming operational roles; they are making it clear that the new structures are facilitating and not operational.

There are many unanswered questions. Will these new state efforts simply create another level of bureaucracy with more red tape and less responsiveness to those being served? It is too early to tell, but the states are aware of the danger and determined to avoid it.

Can state personnel, many of whom have become tradition-bound and myopic – seeing parts of the child (the intellect, the health or the emotional needs) – be trusted to look at the whole child? Many are. There are growing numbers of new, creative and courageous personnel in state departments of education, social services and mental health who are insistent that comprehensive programs must take priority. Usually, the legislation allocating responsibility for child development defines the term broadly and thus gives legal basis to a comprehensive approach. Legislation usually defines child development services to include, but not be limited to, the following program components: physical health services, mental health services, diagnostic services, child care services both in homes and outside, services for handicapped children, parent education, preschool education, social services, and transportation services necessary to make programs effective and acceptable.

Can parents and localities be meaningfully involved if responsibility for child development rests with the states? The theory of federalism is that all three levels of government must be strong. The lesson of the Head Start effort has not been lost on the states. States are ready to support and promote the principle of community involvement in making the decisions which affect the community's children. In part this is simply a political reality; the mood of the Congress and the nation will require it. But more importantly, it has become clear – particularly when racial or ethnic groups are involved – that programs cannot succeed without the support of the people being served. Moreover, early involvement of parents can help deter later conflicts between home and the schools; and the schools will not be successful without parents on their side. The record of the states in administering the provisions of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act is just one example of states acting upon this understanding. Almost without exception more funds have been passed through to local agencies than were required by legislation because locally run programs could best meet local needs.

A variety of mechanisms to guarantee that comprehensive state plans incorporate effective local involvement are being discussed and developed around the country. The Appalachian states have a pattern of state and local councils developed by the Appalachian Regional Commission which appear to be acceptable to local groups. Model state legislation, soon to be recommended to the states by the Education Commission of the States Early Childhood Task Force, would set up state and district child development and family service councils. One third of the members of district councils would be parents, one third would be public officials with early childhood responsibilities, and one third would be from the private sector. District councils would have authority to design, develop, review and implement local programs in consonance with a statewide plan. Two thirds of the members of the state council would be elected by district councils; the others would be legislators and representatives of state agencies. The statewide plan would have to be approved by a majority of the state council membership.

Many argue in favor of more federal programs which would give local groups control of the planning process. The hard fact, however, is that not as much progress is being made outside the state framework as had first been anticipated. The benefits of community action programs, primarily Head Start, have overshadowed many of the underlying weaknesses. It is time for a careful and rational examination of the community involvement experience. There are examples of outstanding successes, of the development of local interest and initiative never before expressed. But there are at least as many instances when the program has become a whipping boy for local ethnic politicians; when providing jobs has become the primary aim of community action and meeting the needs of the children is secondary; when parents refuse to become involved. A recent study in Riverside County, California showed that fewer than five percent of Head Start parents attended more than one meeting.

Any federal legislation could, of course, include added guidelines for community involvement, with the proviso that if they were not implemented by the governor within a limited time period, perhaps six months, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare would be authorized to deal directly with local groups.

Federal Legislation

The most significant aspect of the current debate about federal child care legislation is its lack of realism. The national interest in child development seems to have overshadowed the fact that there will not be comprehensive child legislation this year, perhaps not for several years to come. The reasons are substantive, political and economic. Child care advocates are far from united. Independent interest groups still think their point of view can surface in national legislation. It should be clear by now that day care enthusiasts are not significantly more influential than comprehensive development advocates, or community actionists than states' righters. And as the debate continues, the nation's fears about undermining the family, snatching children away from their mothers and damaging children with too much schooling too early are unsatisfactorily answered and are growing. In a period of economic belt-tightening, substantial doses of new funds for a nationwide early childhood program are highly unlikely.

Why then persist on the current track? Eminently more logical would be a limited but significant three-pronged national effort to begin the development of a nationwide child care program. The three obvious initial thrusts would be planning, personnel development, and consolidation of federal programs. Too often the sudden delivery of millions of dollars of federal funds has resulted in communities and states concocting eleventh-hour programs to beat the deadlines and get a piece of the action. As states set up their own planning and coordinating mechanisms with local involvement, it would be logical and wise to support those planning efforts to insure the careful determination of priorities and the best use of any federal resources and/or state funds which might later be made available.

It is estimated that the additional numbers of children who need child care services total 7.5 million; to care for them will require an estimated 456,000 additional professionals and 529,000 additional para-professionals. Although there are hundreds of unemployed elementary teachers looking for work, they are not necessarily quali-

fied to work with very young children. The qualifications for child care are new and different. The Child Development Associate Consortium, initiated by the Office of Child Development, is now working on a list of competencies for early childhood personnel which are not dependent upon a bachelors degree or a standard teaching certificate. A carefully drafted personnel development bill, introduced in the House early this year by Idaho Congressman Orval Hansen, was incorporated without debate or change in S.3617 which passed the Senate in June. Congressman Hansen estimated that the bill would have required an appropriation of $40 million in the first year and $60 million in the second year.

Consolidation and coordination of federal programs could be a Congressional thrust with almost no additional funding. The Office of Child Development was set up for this purpose, but program fragmentation has continued.

Whatever happens in Washington, state programs will multiply. Increasingly emphasis will be placed first upon a structure to insure orderly and planned fund allocation and growth. That future federal programs – whenever they come and in what magnitude – will probably require statewide planning mechanisms is not lost among the states. There is a conviction among the states that coordination and more efficient administration at the state level will benefit children and their families. The result of intergovernmental and interagency rivalry is – simply stated – that children suffer.

Photo by: Steve Naegele

A Black Perspective on Child Development

by Evelyn K. Moore

I. The Need for Child Care

It is now an established and accepted fact that the personal development of *any* child during his first years is absolutely vital. Research conducted by educators, psychologists, anthropologists, and professionals in other fields has shown that attitudes, behavior patterns, self concepts, physical growth, and intellectual and interpersonal skills acquired during his first five years will remain with a child to a large extent for the rest of his life. Similarly, a child will be hampered for years, if not for his entire lifetime, by insufficient or skewed development in these areas.

We black people have reason to be especially concerned about the early development of our children. Only through our children can we maintain who we are as a people; this consideration deals with *our* existence. The development achieved by a black child during his early years will equip him to survive in the twentieth century; this consideration deals with *his* continued existence as an individual human being.

Our concern about the black child increases when we look at what happens to him at the age of six years: he goes to public school. Public schools are not just inadequate; they are actually destructive to the children they are supposed to serve. Dr. Chester Pierce, a Harvard psychologist, voices the feeling of many black people when he says that the public school system has been fantastically successful in neutralizing American children between the ages of five and fifteen. The effect of this neutralizing process upon a white middle class child is to socialize him into acceptance and perpetuation of the prevailing political and social system. Much more destruction must be wrought upon a black child, however, in order to socialize *him* into a social and political system which at best ignores him and at worst degrades, oppresses, and brutalizes him.

In order for a black child to withstand the impact of public education and to combat the negative aspects of his social and economic position, he must by the age of five years have at least begun to learn to survive with honor and dignity. He must have the tools with which to acquire the knowledge and abilities that will enable him to go beyond mere survival.

The need for providing resources in addition to his family upon which a child can draw is underscored by the facts of American social and economic life in the 1970's. About 25.6 million persons lived below the poverty level in the United States during 1971. One third of *all* black people in this country lived in poverty, as compared to one tenth of all whites. Fifty-two percent of all black people living in poverty are under the age of 18; thirty-six percent of the poor whites are less than 18. Women headed three fifths of all the poor black families, as compared to only one third of all poor white families. During that same period of time 25.8 million children under 18 (including 5.6 million under 6) had working mothers. One out of every six children was from a family in which the father was either absent, unemployed, or out of the labor force. Such families which relied on the earnings of the mother included 43% of *all* black children, compared to 14% of all white children. During 1969 58% of all black mothers of children under three years old worked, as did 40% of the white mothers of children in this age group.

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Sources such as the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics have gathered numerous data that prove the working mother to be an established fact in all social and economic levels of our society. These statistics indicate how urgent the need is for day care in some groups and how often the people in those groups are least able to meet the current high cost of comprehensive child care outside the home. As an indication of the difficulty of finding *in*-home care, regardless of economic considerations, note that during the period 1965-71, when the number of working mothers increased from 3.7 million to 4.6 million, the number of full-time housekeepers *decreased* from approximately 500,000 to 300,000. Note also that in 1970 only 5% of all families with children under 6 had an adult female relative other than the mother living in the home.

Although statistics that show the economic need for child care are the data most easily come by, black people support comprehensive child development *not* just because child care is good for the economy. Rather, black people believe that in light of the oppressive environment of the United States, every black child has a basic human right to the services he needs to aid his comprehensive development. Comprehensive child development for any child means sufficient social, emotional, intellectual, and physical growth to equip him to survive and flourish in his environment. Every child needs to achieve self-knowledge and self-respect. A black child in the United States must in addition gain knowledge about, and feel pride in, his race.

Black, other minority, and poor children are not the only children who need comprehensive development services outside their families. Close to 40% of *all* children in the United States live in families headed either by a working woman or by two working parents. These parents must either leave their children alone or find child care. Every child born in the United States today enters a confusing, potentially destructive world. Adequate comprehensive child development services means making quality services available to *all* children who need them, regardless of the income or work status of their parents. The government and people of the United States must make such programs available because it is self-destructive insanity to ignore the needs of the country's children.

II. How to Meet the Need

To plan and implement programs that will justly and effectively meet the developmental needs of children, participation by parents of the children to be served is absolutely essential. While this rule applies to all children's parents, it is especially true

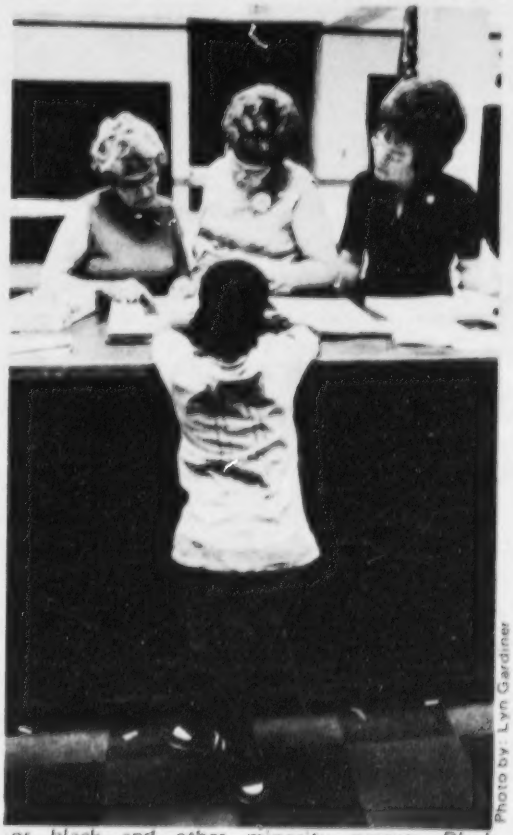

Photo by: Lyn Gardiner

for black and other minority parents. Black parents know the needs of black children better than anyone else – we alone have first hand knowledge and experience with growing up to be a black adult in the United States.

Helping our children learn the crucial lessons discussed previously is much too important to be delegated to people for whom the interests of black children are not – and perhaps cannot – be paramount.

Participation of black and other minority parents does not mean parent teacher conferences, or visitors' day, or even advisory boards. Participation means parents exercising their knowledge and authority at all policy- and decision-making levels, including planning, administration, operations, and research. To insure more than merely token inclusion, parents elected by other parents must compose two thirds of all boards that run local child care facilities, and these boards must control the finances of local child care centers, including budgeting and disbursement. Adequate parental participation in child care and development means parental control of the institutions that control children's minds.

There is nothing new or radical about the idea of parents controlling their children's education. School supervision by community parents is an essential element of the development of America's educational system. Who is shocked or disconcerted by the idea of school board elections in white suburbia? Yet some of those very people who are most alert to the danger of federal or state encroachment into their own local schools are also the most resistent to the idea of *black* parents controlling *their* local schools and preschools. More "liberal" people speak of the need to study this "new" idea of parental control. Resistence to parental and community control springs from the realization that including black people and other minorities in the tradition of community control will cause a drastic shift in power. Refusing or hesitating to support black community control of schools that serve black children is racism because it denies black parents the control and authority that is granted to white parents without question.

Once the first prerequisite – parental and community control – is built into child development programs, it will be possible to assure the second prerequisite for a successful child development center: viewing the center as an integral part of the community of the children served rather than as separate and in opposition to the child's life outside the center. One of the most decisive arguments for community control of the center – and for treating the center in a community context – is the continuity that can be achieved between the child's learning experiences in the center and in his home. *Dis*continuity between home and center makes the center ineffective, from not utilizing the strength and impact of the child's family and community, or actually damaging because of the stressful conflict between what the child is told at school and what he experiences outside school. In short, parental and community involvement in all phases of planning and operating child development centers is essential to assure a beneficial, efficient program that will meet children's needs through curricula based on the child's reality, and through coordination that capitalizes on the strengths and impact of his family.

Viewing the child development center as part of its community will do more than improve the curricula of the center and increase its impact on the child. The center can help to develop the community and thereby benefit children and their families over the long run. Center staff, professional and para-professional, must come from the community served. Such staffing benefits the child by surrounding him with adults that he can understand and trust, and improves his community's economic situation by bringing in new salaries. The economic and social benefits of hiring from the community will be increased by quality in-service training programs and the construction of career ladders that encourage individuals to increase their education and professionalization in the child development field.

When parent boards control disbursement of funds, they consistently support local businesses by purchasing from them services and materials needed by the center. Funds that are kept circulating within the community have a snowballing effect that increases its economic viability.

Again, there is nothing new or radical about the idea of specialized funding adding to the welfare of the community as a whole. The New Deal is a prime example of federal monies being used as a catalyst for social and economic betterment. Policy makers traditionally offer their constituents listings of federal programs and jobs they have secured for their communities as proof of their worthiness for reelection. It does not politicize and demean child care and development to view their facilities with the perspective of the essential

part they can play in the economic betterment of the communities in which children grow up.

III. The Federal Government's Role

The statistical evidence of the nation's need for quality comprehensive child care facilities presented earlier stretches across geographical, economic, ethnic, and social boundaries. The potentially disastrous consequences to the populace as a whole if children are neglected underscores the urgency of uniform high standards for all child care facilities. The magnitude of the task precludes local or state governments' ability to provide the required finances and technical assistance. Many states, counties, and municipalities have repeatedly displayed unwillingness or inability to serve young children who are black. The federal government has no choice; it must play a decisive, affirmative role in the establishment of quality comprehensive child development centers.

The current level of federal funding for child care and development is wholly inadequate. Concrete statistics on exactly how many children receive day care through federal programs, and the quality of that care, are fragmentary. During the 1971 fiscal year Head Start served 240,000 children, 160,000 black and 80,000 white. That same year 300 million federal dollars, to be matched with about one third again as many state and local dollars, went to child care through Title IV-A. Of these millions 60% went to in-home care, 30% to care in others' homes, and only 10% to child care centers. It is safe to say that relatively little of the Title IV-A money went to quality developmental care for children. The Department of Labor reported that most of the mothers being trained under the WIN program had to make their own child care arrangements, which were often subject to changes, interruptions, and breakdowns and forced a large number to drop out of training. Another set of government programs is aimed at care for children of migrant workers. The National

Photo by Elaine Wickens

Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity has commented, "Fifty times more migrant families' children need care than receive it."

In summary, sixty or more federal programs help fund day care, but the total number of children in low income families who are provided developmental day care remains a fractional proportion of those needing it.

Even more serious than the current partial abdication of federal responsibility is the kind of thinking that underlies those federal programs that have been initiated. Federal programs that affect black children are consistently based on the findings and recommendations of *white* researchers. During the late 1950's and early 60's these white researchers studied and reported how "disadvantaged" and "deprived" children raised by poor black families were. The result of this white research was the deficit model of planning. Programs based on this deficit model were oriented toward compensation for the "proven" deficiencies of the black family style and the implied inferiority of the black child. For all its good points, Head Start is a prime example of this thinking: you only give a head start to someone that you expect you can catch up with and surpass because he is less adequate than you. In spite of this negative beginning, however, the initiative and ingenuity of poor people enables the parents of children in Head Start to make Head Start as responsive to the needs of children as any government program has been so far.

This mindset that assumes the weakness of black and other minority family styles is not a thing of the past. The Office of Child Development, whose explicit responsibility is the advocacy and initiation of programs for children, continues to ignore or actually downgrade the capabilities and potential contributions of the parents of the children OCD is supposed to serve.

Home Start, another program based on white research, enters the black home to teach the black mother how to do a better job of "parenting." There is no evidence that consideration has been given to the possibility of a black mother knowing more than a white university psychologist about what her child needs for survival in the streets. It is no wonder that a federal office capable of such blithely patronizing denegation of black parents consistently excludes them from policy and program design.

Specifically, formulation of the Model Licensing Codes for Day Care was contracted out to a high-priced consulting firm that in turn hired consulting "experts." Only at the last minute were minorities, day care facility operators, and consumers able to pressure the Office of Child Development into including them in the process of drafting the codes that OCD will encourage states to adopt as the basis for their licensing procedures. They are not being included, however, in the formation of the all-important final draft.

Specifically, the proposed revision of the Federal Day Care Requirements, which apply to all day care programs receiving federal funds, lower the requirements of the 1968 version. Discarding the recommendations of parents and community child development centers, the office charged with advocacy for children is cutting back costs for the sake of proposed welfare reform and opening the way for franchised profit-seeking chains of day care facilities.

Specifically, the Child Development Associate program seeks to create a new profession to meet the need for qualified child development personnel. Program design for CDA was assigned by OCD to three organizations: the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI), and the American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators (EKNE), only one of which (an NAEYC) has shown significant responsiveness to minority concerns. We question whether the organizations have been near the forefront of creative, innovative changes in the field of education. CDA will be run by a consortium, which will formulate criteria for CDAs, will grant CDA status, and will be responsible for initiating and overseeing CDA training programs. Organizations other than NAEYC, ACEI, and EKNE were called in to approve and join CDA only after the structure and composition of the consortium were set, with

NAEYC and ACEI having special permanent membership on the board of directors of the consortium, and with no assurance of adequate representation for parents and minority child care centers. The Black Child Development Institute and other representatives of minorities are consulting with the CDA consortium now, and there are indications that the structure of CDA may be improved.

Specifically, OCD grants for research into child advocacy are still going to universities and research "specialists;" minority parents and community groups who are actually working on comprehensive child development programs are *still* being effectively excluded from the research on which future programs will be based.

The Office of Child Development is a microcosm of the attitudes and activities of the federal administration in the field of child care. The White House Conference on Children and Youth concluded with the President giving lip service to the nation's commitment to children; the President vetoed S.2007, the bill that included the 1971 comprehensive child development legislation. To many people it seems that short-term political considerations are consistently being placed ahead of the long-term welfare of children.

Federal involvement in child development will not lead to the brainwashing of children, nor to destruction of the family, nor to communal rearing of children *so long as parents of the children served play a decision-making role at all levels of planning and implementation of child development programs.* Efforts to legislate federal support for quality comprehensive child development have been repeatedly blocked in the name of the protection of children and families. At the same time legislation is being introduced that excludes parents or relegates them to an "advisory" role, legislation that will force a mother to leave her child in day care facilities and go to work whether or not she approves of the "care" her child is to receive. Black people recognize the vicious, racist hypocrisy that underlies such actions.

A national effort must be made to establish quality comprehensive child development facilities to serve all children who need them. The federal

Photo by: Lyn Gardiner

government must take affirmative action in support of this effort. If the United States is serious about improving the quality of life for black children, comprehensive development services must be accomplished within the context of total community development. To insure just and efficient child development programs, parents and communities of the children to be served must be decisively involved at all levels of planning and implementation. We black people must control the institutions that control our children's minds.

Day Care Services: A "No-Quality" Future?

by William L. Pierce

The Child Welfare League of America's "Study of the Expansion of Day Care in the United States" has been underway for nearly three years.[1] Preplanning and preliminary data gathering was accomplished in most of 1970. 1971 was directed chiefly to examining the franchised day care operations and chain day care operations, and during 1972, the findings have been applied in the areas of day care standards, licensing, staff training, and delivery of services.

After these three years of study, the verdict is in: universal, high-quality, non-discriminatory day care has about as much chance of becoming a reality for Americans as universal, high-quality, non-discriminatory public education.

If the future of public education appears to be "inequality," the future of public day care appears to be "no-quality." "No-quality" day care – that is, "harmful day care" – is partially related to the politics of "double-standard services" and "services as a means of control." The double-standard applies not only to different kinds of services for blacks and whites or Anglos and Chicanos but also to differences between the services poor children and middle income children receive. The use of services as a means of control has been discussed elsewhere.[2] "No-quality" is also partially a matter of economics: universal, high-quality day care is needed by so many families and children that providing the funds for such services would require a basic realignment of national budget priorities.

Taken in part from "The Child Welfare League's Study of the Expansion of Day Care in the United States: Final Report." Copyright 1972 by The Child Welfare League of America, Inc.

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Providing *Some* Day Care

Day care of "no quality," however, will be provided because some kind of day care is an absolute requirement, given the movement of public policy makers toward the position that all parents of low or moderate income must work outside the home. Poor parents will be formally required to take whatever assignments are given them or suffer the financial consequences of having their welfare checks stopped. Moderate income parents will continue to be informally required to take jobs – at whatever wages are available and regardless of the availability of child care for their children – to avoid the financial hell of welfare.

Required work by the majority of women is now the general practice.[3] The actions of the 92nd Congress indicate that required work may soon become the rule. Required work necessitates a corresponding public responsibility for the provision of day care services – or the transfer of responsibility for day care services back to parents. Since 1967, most of this responsibility has been transferred back to parents, whether on welfare or not. Parents on welfare were assumed to be able to arrange their own day care, although the amount of money spent for these purposes averages $800 per child per year, about half the amount required for marginal, custodial care.[4] Non-welfare parents – severely limited until recently in the amount they could deduct from their taxes for child care – were assumed to be able to arrange their own day care.[5] Although a comparison of licensed day care spaces with the numbers of children of working parents demonstrated – as early as 1965 – that there were millions of children with no care or inadequate, damaging care, official government rhetoric has been that "informal arrangements" and "extended family arrangements" were being used by most parents.[6]

For most of the years since World War II,

official recognition that day care was a public responsibility dissipated. The government has not been willing to admit that most of America's children were being harmed – by being subjected to inadequate care – and that the chief villain was the government itself. This maltreatment of children resulted from government manpower policies, attitudes toward working women, and a general failure to take responsibility for the effects of public policies toward the poor and the near-poor.

If the government officially admitted that there was a day care problem, the government might have to admit liability for the damage being done to children.

Welfare and Day Care

The "welfare system" developed in response to many needs. One was a genuine concern for the welfare of widows and their children, and a desire to avoid destructive institutionalization of children. The system also saved the government money by paying mothers to care for their own children. Savings were realized because the government consistently paid mothers less than would have been necessary had services been obtained from any other source. This welfare system, inadequate as it is, has grown to the point that political and budgetary conservatives believe it must be scrapped.

There was no move toward real improvement – no institution of programs to provide full employment for those willing and able to work, nor quality day care and other supportive services for workers, nor subsidies for those who did not wish to work or should not work. Instead, the Congress moved backward to what had been essentially the 19th-century solution. The Senate passed a punitive, repressive version of H.R. 1 which contained some of the worst features of traditional American slavery.[7] Old-fashioned peonage was refined by applying technology to the design for a police state.[8]

The most obvious expression of the "tough" approach was the emergence of welfare as a political issue, the Nixon Administrations's attitude toward the social programs begun in the 1960's by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and the passing of separate versions of H.R. 1 by each house of Congress. Congress and the President were prevented from enacting the most repressive features of H.R. 1 only because there was disagreement about how far the government should go in "getting tough" with welfare recipients, as well as pressures on the Congress to adjourn.

Day care was one feature of H.R. 1 which liberals and conservatives alike pointed to as the "carrot." (The "stick" was the work requirement; Senator Ribicoff called the work requirement provisions in the Senate-passed bill "slave-fare.")[9] Somehow, liberals believed President Nixon's words when he said that the day care to be provided under H.R. 1 would be "developmental." Liberals mis-read the full meaning of his actions when he requested so little money for his day care that it could not be anything but harmful, custodial care.

Even some day care professionals were confused when the new term "child development" began to be applied to the services children were to receive as part of the welfare package. Somehow, when federal officials said they could deliver "developmental care" for less money than it cost five years previously to deliver "custodial care," most people didn't realize that the Newspeak era had come to children's services.

What used to be "custodial care" now was called "developmental care." Professionals like Edward Zigler of the Office of Child Development and HEW Secretary Richardson were saying that "... it only costs about $80 more per child of preschool age to provide some elements of child development services than it would to provide just straight babysitting."[10]

Most outside experts disputed the HEW claims and pointed to official HEW estimates which had been published prior to the Nixon Administration and the push for welfare reform. In 1967, the HEW estimates of costs for "foster day care," the term then used to describe "family day care" were "minimum," $1,423; "acceptable," $2,032; "desirable," $2,372.

The Office of Child Development estimated in a paper it circulated internally late in 1972 that "developmental" care for a child aged 3-6 could be provided in a day care home for $1,000 per year.[12] This estimate is slightly higher than the estimates made for this care in Senate testimony late in 1971. At that time "custodial care" was estimated to cost $809 per child-year, and "developmental care" was estimated to cost $898.[13] These budgets not only compare unfavorably with cost estimates made by HEW in pre-Nixon days

Photo by Marianne Gontarz

but also with estimates made by non-government experts in 1972.

Greater Costs

For at least two years, non-government groups such as the Child Welfare League of America and the National Council of Jewish Women have been testifying that costs of decent day care are much higher than the amounts federal officials claim are needed.[14] Many of those estimates were discounted out of hand – especially by federal agencies – because they came from groups and individuals which were "biased." "Biased" can mean an interest in the well-being of children regardless of budgetary implications. "Biased" can be applied to those who insist on standards; one OCD official labeled opponents as "unrealistic" and "pie-in-the-sky."[15]

Because of the questions raised about "bias," it was particularly helpful when Mary P. Rowe, an economic consultant for a firm which had prepared a report on day care for the Nixon Administration, testified to the accuracy of the higher estimates. Rowe said: " . . . day care programs beginning in 1972 would be expected to cost at least 10-20% more than the budgets presented in the Appendix [the 1967 HEW estimates], simply for pricing reasons."[16] Updating, using Rowe's figures, the following comparison can be made for one kind of day care:

1972 prices for family day care:

Minimum	Acceptable	Desirable
$1565-1707	$2235-2438	$2609-2846

The Office of Child Development is recommending that a maximum of $1000 be budgeted for care of a preschool child in "Family Homes."

Admittedly, the White House and the Office of Management and the Budget are exerting strong pressures on the Office of Child Development and other federal agencies to hold down the costs of all programs. The utilization of family day care planned by the Nixon Administration under the welfare reform bill H.R.1 makes it clear that there is a great deal of money at stake. The plans for implementing H.R.1 would have provided day care for 450,000 additional children, 150,000 of them of preschool age.[17] HEW projected that a maximum of 20% of preschool children would be served in day care centers. At least 80% – 120,000 children – would receive non-center care.[18]

Computing the cost of providing the cheapest kind of family home care for those 120,000 children using OCD's own figures yields a price tag of $120 million.

If one computes the cost of providing care for the same number of children using Rowe's estimates, it is clear why Administration officials have been arguing about definitions and standards.

To make the comparison as fair as possible, let us assume that Rowe's lower estimates of increased cost are sufficient, and that prices of services have only risen 10% from 1967 to 1972. Granting that substantial difference, the following are Rowe's cost estimates for one year's "family care" for those same 120,000 children.

Minimum Quality	$187.8 million
Acceptable Quality	$268.2 million
Desirable Quality	$313.1 million

For budget reasons alone, the federal government is unlikely to admit that quality day care (as outside experts define quality and cost) is necessary. For those 120,000 children alone, the increased cost of day care would be at least $67.8 million (for minimum quality care), would proba-

bly be $148.2 million (for acceptable quality care), and could reach $193.1 million (for desirable quality care).

Every Administration seeks to hold down spending and the Nixon Administration is no different. Faced with the choice between sacrificing what has become the Administration's number one domestic legislative priority and holding costs down, there was no real choice. President Nixon has vetoed legislation which would increase costs. The Nixon Administration has impounded funds which were appropriated to serve children and protect children: school lunch funds were impounded; money for the Lead Paint Poisoning Act of 1971, a program to reduce the incidence of lead paint poisoning in children, was withheld.

The Administration was not only faced with a need to reduce the costs of day care services. It also needed to change the standards which dated from September 23, 1968, because unilaterally implementing them would almost double the cost of day care under H.R.1.[19]

Implementation

Finally, even if the Administration succeeded in redefining quality day care and changing the regulations governing its operation, one difficulty remained. The Administration needed to find some way to deliver its brand of day care.

The federal government's answer was to set firm prices for day care services, and allow individuals and groups to work out the details of buying day care services. If the prices set were so low that some people would refuse to bid for the "day care business," then that would not be the federal government's responsibility. If the price ceiling meant that wages had to be below the federal minimum or that the number of children per child care worker had to be increased until the prices-profits ratio was acceptable, that would not be the responsibility of the federal government. If private entrepreneurs were the only providers of day care services willing to contract to deliver services at a price which means cheap labor and poor care, then that would not be the federal government's responsibility.

The emergence of private entrepreneurs as the sole potential long-term bidders for day care services contracts recalls the early days of other human services programs – Medicare and Medicaid. Laws designed to provide care for the aged all too frequently led to profiteering. Medicare-Medicaid health care, especially for the poor, the nonwhite, and rural people who need services most, was delivered under separate circumstances and was of unequal quality. Abuses accumulated to the point where the following were written into the law governing Medicare and Medicaid:

1) 100% Federal financing of nursing home inspections;
2) HEW disclosure of information concerning Medicare agents and providers is required;
3) disclosure of ownership information of nursing homes (intermediate care facilities) is required.[20]

Three years of surveying private entrepreneurs has led to the conclusion that their performance in delivering day care services would be similar to the performance of the Medicare-Medicaid businessmen who profiteered. If the federal government is determined, as it appears, to subject children to the same fate older Americans suffered, that is a great human tragedy.

Perhaps, to serve the public interest partially, the federal government will make enough advance preparations to prevent a repetition of the same economic opportunism that took place under Medicare and Medicaid. These minimum steps should be taken:[21]

1) standards for day care services strong enough to ensure that children receive care at least as good as is provided in an ordinary "good home;"
2) federal financing of day care service licensing and inspections;
3) assurance that reimbursement for day care services rendered is equitable for the type of care provided;
4) provisions requiring HEW regularly to make information public with respect to day care services, agencies and providers of day care services;
5) provisions allowing for withholding payments for day care services to terminated day care service providers;
6) provisions providing for mandatory independent professional review to determine proper child placement and refer-

ral of children to day care services and care of children in such services;

7) provisions requiring disclosure of ownership of day care facilities and services;
8) provisions requiring public disclosure of information concerning survey reports of day care service providers;
9) provisions providing a penalty for failure to provide required supplementary services as stipulated by other legislation relating to children;
10) provisions limiting federal payments for disapproved capital expenditures;
11) provisions providing for termination or suspension of federal payments to a provider found to have abused the program;
12) provisions establishing penalties for soliciting, offering or accepting bribes or kickbacks, or for concealing events affecting a person's rights to benefit with intent to defraud, and for converting benefit payments to improper use;
13) provisions establishing false reporting of a material fact as to conditions or operations of a day care facility as a misdemeanor subject to fine, imprisonment, or both;
14) provisions establishing a Provider Reimbursement Review Board.

The Study of the Expansion of Day Care in the United States began with the hope that ways could be found to involve private, for-profit providers positively in delivering quality day care services at prices equal to those charged by public and private, non-profit providers. [22]

During the Study, it became clear that franchised day care, chain day care, and all other large commercial enterprises could not (because of their need to return a profit) meet the needs for day care services in a manner consistent with the public's need for the highest quality services at the lowest possible cost. [23]

Despite these findings, there will be pressures to repeat the disastrous mistakes made with Medicare and Medicaid by utilizing the profit-making providers to deliver day care services. For that reason, actions should be taken to reduce the incidence of economic waste. If programs will not be humane, at least they can have a measure of fiscal integrity.

Nothing short of a repetition of the Medicare-Medicaid nursing home and health care tragedy is likely to convince public policy makers to design day care programs which will reduce or avoid the worst sort of waste – the destruction of

Photo by: Bob Fletcher

children's personalities and lives.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The preparation of this material was made possible through the resources provided by The New World Foundation, The Ittleson Family Foundation, The Field Foundation, The George J. Hecht Foundation for Children, The Haffenreffer Family Fund, as well as those of the Child Welfare League of America, Inc.

The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Child Welfare League of America.

[2] See Bertram M. Gross' "Friendly Fascism: A Model for America," *Social Policy*, Nov/Dec. 1970, pp. 44-52, and Elizabeth Wickenden's "H.R. 1: Reform or Control?" (Personal Memorandum dated June 30, 1971. Mimeographed; four pages.) Wickenden's paper discusses attitudes which still prevail among policy makers even though the more punitive features of the "welfare reform" bill she discusses were not enacted during 1972.

[3] "More than half of all mothers with children between the ages of 6 and 17 are jobholders. About one-third of all mothers with children under the age of six, totaling over 4½ million women, are in the labor force. Most working mothers seek jobs for *compelling* economic reasons." (Emphasis added.) *Windows on Day Care* by Mary Dublin Keyserling.

[4] The debate over "quality" and "costs" of day care services has been very intense. Most participants have utilized definitions and budgetary estimates primarily to defend their particular position on issues. The Senate Finance Committee's estimate was $744 for the cost of child care under programs funded by Title IV-A of the Social Security Act. (See page 32 of *Child Care Data and Materials*, a Committee print dated June 16, 1971.) The $744 figure was arbitrarily raised to $800 to reflect the difference between Fiscal Year 1972 and 1973 prices.

[5] A helpful brief explanation of provisions allowing for child care deductions in current law is contained in *H.R. 1 Social Security Amendments of 1972, Brief Description of Senate Amendments*, a Committee print dated October 11, 1972, pp. 73-74.

[6] There are 10,777,000 children that are "unaccounted for" in the statistics showing numbers of children in care. An information sheet prepared by the National Welfare Rights Organization says: " . . . Congress concludes after looking . . . [at the statistics] . . . that it must be the 'extended family' that is caring for the millions of children who apparently are not receiving care now. NWRO knows better. In so many states, with benefits cut back and with repression the rule, mothers just cannot find any child care but have no choice but to take whatever jobs they can find. They make such arrangements as they can. They call home and 'check on' their children. They put the house key on a string around their child's neck. They have older children 'look after' younger children as best they can." (Quoted from a mimeographed, undated sheet entitled "THE STATE OF CHILD CARE.")

[7] Slavery is not too strong a word for opponents of H.R. 1, as Wickenden observed in her "HR 1: Reform or Control?" (page 3). Wickenden wrote: "To its opponents this effort to coerce cheap labor and compliant behavior is seen as the cultural equivalent for modern times of the historical instruments of slavery and the plantation system." Even though the more objectionable features contained in the Senate-passed and House-passed versions did not become law during 1972, the attitudes which were responsible for those features being drafted are likely to persist for several years.

[8] The previous footnote explained the rationale for referring to H.R. 1 in terms of "peonage." To the author, nothing describes the use of federal blood-typing laboratories and the other provisions added to H. R. 1 by the Senate Finance Committee so succinctly as "a police state." At the very least, one would have to admit that there is a very great potential for abuse of basic civil liberties in the system proposed by the Senate Finance Committee.

[9] Sen. Ribicoff is quoted as describing the forced-work provisions of H.R. 1 as "slave-fare" in "Welfare Compromise Killed; New Reform Bid in Doubt," *The Washington Post*, Oct. 4, 1972, p. A 16.

[10] *Child Care*, Senate Finance Committee, September 22-24, 1971, p. 107.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

[12] The $1000 cost is for the care of a child of pre-school age (3-6 years) in a "family home," to use the language of the paper.

[13] *op. cit.*, p. 227.

[14] Child Welfare League of America and National Council of Jewish Women testimony given on August 24 and 25, respectively, estimated costs to be significantly higher than the $1,600 figure being used by the Administration. CWLA estimated the comparable type of care would cost $2,234 at 1972 prices; NCJW's estimate was $2,200. (See *FAMILY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1970, Hearings*, Part 3, a Senate Finance Committee CWLA quote, see p. 1540; NCJW quote, p. 1409.)

[15] Dr. Edward Zigler, the first Director of the Office of Child Development, is quoted in "Nixon's Child Care Expert Resigns," *The Washington Post*, July 15, 1972, p. A 2, as saying " . . . his greatest frustration was the failure to bridge the gap between child care advocates with their 'pie in the sky' politically unfeasible plans and government officials 'who would be perfectly satisfied with custodial day care.' " The dilemma of a person in Dr. Zigler's position is clear. Most non-government groups were calling for day care which would cost around $2,200 per year. Some fiscal conservatives were pressing for day care costing $1,100 per year. Dr. Zigler and his staff were sincere in their belief that the $1,600 level was as good as could be politically obtained. The fact that $1,600 care is not as damaging and not as obviously custodial as care costing $1,100 never came through clearly during the heated debate over costs.

[16] Note 10, page 277.

[17] Note 10, p. 216.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

[19] There was substantial differences of opinion within

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the Senate Finance Committee regarding the kind of child care to be provided under H.R. 1. Sen. Ribicoff proposed that, at a minimum, child care should meet the existing requirements set in 1968; he matched his proposal with an increase in the spending from $700 million to $1.5 billion — for the same number of children. Fiscal conservatives on the Committee, like their counterparts in the Nixon Administration, know the impact of decent standards. In one Committee print, "Material Related to Child Care Legislation," dated July 23, 1971, federal child care standards are cited as a "barrier to expansion of child care." An illustrative sentence (p. 14) reads "Since staffing costs represent 75 to 80 percent of child care center costs, and since more staff is required under the Federal standards than under the licensing requirements of almost all States, federally shared child care costs may be expected to become rather higher than present costs in the States." There is one other additional sentence (p. 14) which has ominous implications, in terms of the quality of care children receive. "Draft revised standards have been circulated for comment."

Two types of revised standards have been developed by the Administration's Office of Child Development, both of which would have the effect of lowering the number of staff required in day care services. One type of standard is a new "Federal Day Care Requirements," a draft circulated in June, 1972, which would reduce the cost of federally supported day care. Another type of standard, aimed at reducing the staff-child ratios in those States with good requirements, was developed as part of a project called the "Model Day Care Coding Licensing Project."

Non-governmental groups and individuals have consistently opposed promulgation of these two quality-cheapening documents.

[20] These suggested provisions are derived from Medicare-Medicaid Amendments approved by the Senate-House Conferees, contained in *H.R. 1 Social Security Amendments of 1972 as Approved by the Conferees*, a joint publication of the Senate Finance Committee and House Ways and Means Committee, Oct. 17, 1972, pp. 9-25.

[21] There are additional recommendations contained in the Senate-passed version of H.R. 1 relating to Medicare-Medicaid which were not suggested here because they failed to survive the Conference. One suggestion that has been made to improve Medicare-Medicaid would be useful for day care services as well, that is the establishment of an Inspector General. A brief description of such an Inspector General for Medicare-Medicaid is contained in *H.R. 1 Social Security Amendments of 1972, Brief Description of Senate Amendments, op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[22] The proposal for the League's project assumed that it would be possible to identify a commercial operation which could be pointed to as a model. According to the proposal, "The first case history, hopefully, will describe the development of a franchise operation which combines adequate services to children with a fair return on capital and time to franchisor and franchisee." (See "PROPOSAL TO STUDY AND REPORT ON THE IMPACT OF FRANCHISED DAY CARE ON THE QUALITY OF CHILD CARE SERVICES," mimeographed, 1970, p. 18.) No such franchisor could be found during the course of the study.

[23] A number of other papers developed during the course of the League's study discuss these issues in greater detail. The most comprehensive brief paper developed to date is "Profiting from Day Care," a 22-page mimeographed paper which has not yet been widely distributed but which will be available from the Child Welfare League in 1973.

UPDATED FEDERAL DAY CARE LEGISLATION CHART

Title	S. 2003 Federal Child Care Corporation	S. 2007 The Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971	S. 3617 The Comprehensive Headstart, Child Development and Family Services Act of 1972	H.R. 6748 Comprehensive Child Development Act	H.R. 13649 Child Development Act
Child Care under Title IV-A of Social Security Act					
Status					
Program restricted by Title III of Revenue Sharing Act, passed October 1972	(modified version included in Senate Finance Committee version of H.R. 1; defeated on Senate floor, October 1972)	(vetoed December 9, 1971)	(passed by Senate, June 1972, no action by House)	Reported by House Education and Labor Committee, October 1972	(referred to House Education and Labor Committee). Note: In additional views to the report on H.R. 6748, Congressman Quie indicated he would offer H.R. 13649 as a substitute to H.R. 6748 if it came to the floor.)
Principal Sponsor (s)	Sen. Russell Long	Senators Mondale, Nelson, Javits, and Schweiker	Senators Mondale, Nelson, Javits, and Taft	Rep. Brademas, Reid	Rep. Quie, Dellenback, Steiger (Wisconsin), and Hansen (Idaho)
Eligible Children					
Limited to past, present, and potential welfare recipients. Past defined as recipient within the past 6 months. Potential defined as likely to be recipient within the next year.	Authorizes services for all children who need them and can pay fee, with priority to children whose fees are paid from Title IV of Social Security Act, when parent needs such services to begin or continue employment or training.	Children from 0-14 with priority for preschool and economically disadvantaged children from families of 4 with income over $4,320 pay (graduated fees).	Same as vetoed bill.	Same as vetoed bill, but provides free services for all economically disadvantaged children (defined as below the Bureau of Labor Statistics Lower Living Standard Budget).	No money for programs to serve children.
Appropriation					
$2.5 billion for all social services, including child care. (Child care expenditures at a level of approximately $400 million for fiscal 1972.)	Established revolving fund with one-time maximum federal loan of $500 million (repayment starting 1976). Authorizes Corporation to sell revenue bonds up to $250 million, no more than $50 million in one year.	$100 million for fiscal 1972 for training and technical assistance, $2 billion for fiscal 1973 for program operation.	$150 million for fiscal 1973 for training and technical assistance, $1.2 billion for fiscal 1974, and $1.6 billion for fiscal 1975 for program operation.	Such sums as may be necessary.	Such sums as may be necessary.
Federal Share					
75%, to be matched by 25% certified public match from state or local public agencies, or donated funds.	No federal share. Operating costs to be paid by fees, includes fees paid from federal funds under Title IV of the Social Security Act. 100% Title IV funds if recipient referred to Corporation.	80% federal share; non-federal in cash or kind. Waiver for greater federal share to meet cost of programs for poor, and minorities. 100% federal share for migrants and Indians.	90% federal share -- rest same as vetoed bill.	Same as vetoed bill.	Federal funds limited to planning, research, and training. No federal share for program operation.
Administrative Structure					
State welfare agency provides services directly or contracts for purchase of services from other public or private agencies, according to state plan.	Establishes Federal Child Care Corporation with 3 Presidentially appointed board members, and a National Advisory Board including Secys. of HEW, HUD, and Labor and 12 Board-appointed non-governmental members.	Prime sponsorship -- any local unit or combination of units of government with population over 5,000, Indian reservation, or state. Prime sponsor designates administering agency and establishes Child Development Council. Each project has Policy Committee.	Prime sponsorship -- any local unit or combination of units of government with population over 25,000, Indian reservation, or state. Prime sponsor designates administering agency and establishes Child and Family Service Councils. Where state serves as prime sponsor, establishes	Prime sponsorship -- any local unit or combination of local units of government with population over 100,000, Indian reservation, or state. Prime sponsor designates administering agency and establishes Child Development Council; Local Policy Councils es-	Does not establish administrative structure for delivering child care services.

			local family service areas generally of 50,000 population, with local program council. Each project has Policy Committee	tablished to serve subdivisions within prime sponsorship area; no project committees	
Role of States (see above)	State may contract with Corporation to provide child care services for welfare recipients. Title IV pays 100% rather than 75% if recipient referred to Corporation for day care	State serves directly as prime sponsor in areas under 5,000* and where no other prime sponsor approved. State has right to review and comment on all applications submitted within state. 5% of funds reserved for special grants to states to identify child development needs and goals within state, assist in establishing and strengthening Child Development Councils, encourage participation of state agencies providing child development and related services, research, personnel exchange, licensing codes	State serves directly as prime sponsor in areas under 25,000, where no other prime sponsor approved, or where Secretary determines state can do more effective job than local applicants. 10% of funds reserved to states for annual family service plans coordinating local prime sponsors, comprehensive planning for state and functions authorized under special state grants of vetoed bill. State has right to review and comment on all applications submitted within state. 5 states to be selected by Secretary for model programs for exclusive state prime sponsorship	State serves directly as prime sponsor in areas with less than 100,000 population or where no local prime sponsor approved. State has right to review and comment on all applications submitted within state	Authorizes grants to states for comprehensive plans to carry out and coordinate child care programs in urban and rural areas, including identification of needs, a comprehensive program to meet needs, and a structure to involve parents
Parent Involvement Programs required to meet Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements which require 50% parent advisory councils at administering and operating level, with authority to approve applications, hire and fire director, and participate in program decisions. Title IV-A requires state advisory committee on social services with one third members recipients of services	9 of 15 members of National Advisory Council appointed by Board to represent consumers of child care – but not more than one representative of any organization composed of recipients of such assistance	Parents compose 50% of policy making bodies of administering and operating agencies; parent members democratically selected by parents of children receiving services	Same as vetoed bill, although policy making authority of council at prime sponsor level reduced. Action of prime sponsor becomes effective, unless committees oppose by majority vote	Same as vetoed bill, except that no committees required at individual project level	Requires that state plan provide a structure for maximum involvement of parents in the development of their children
Type of Services Limited to child care, defined as "personal care, protection, and supervision" of a child necessary to enable a member of that child's family to accept or continue in work or training, or in cases of the death, continued absence, or incapacity of the child's mother or any member of the family to provide adequate care and supervision	Personal care, protection, and supervision of children in child care facilities, schools, homes – full or part day. Includes construction	A full range of child development services, including educational, nutritional, social, medical, dental and psychological services – full day or part day – in child development facilities, schools, neighborhood centers, and homes. Includes prenatal and infant programs. Includes training, technical assistance, and construction	Authorizes same range of services as vetoed bill, but emphasizes part day programs for economically disadvantaged children and full day programs for children whose parents are out of the home in work and training	Same as vetoed bill	Authorizes consolidation and coordination of federal child care programs, statewide planning, research and training